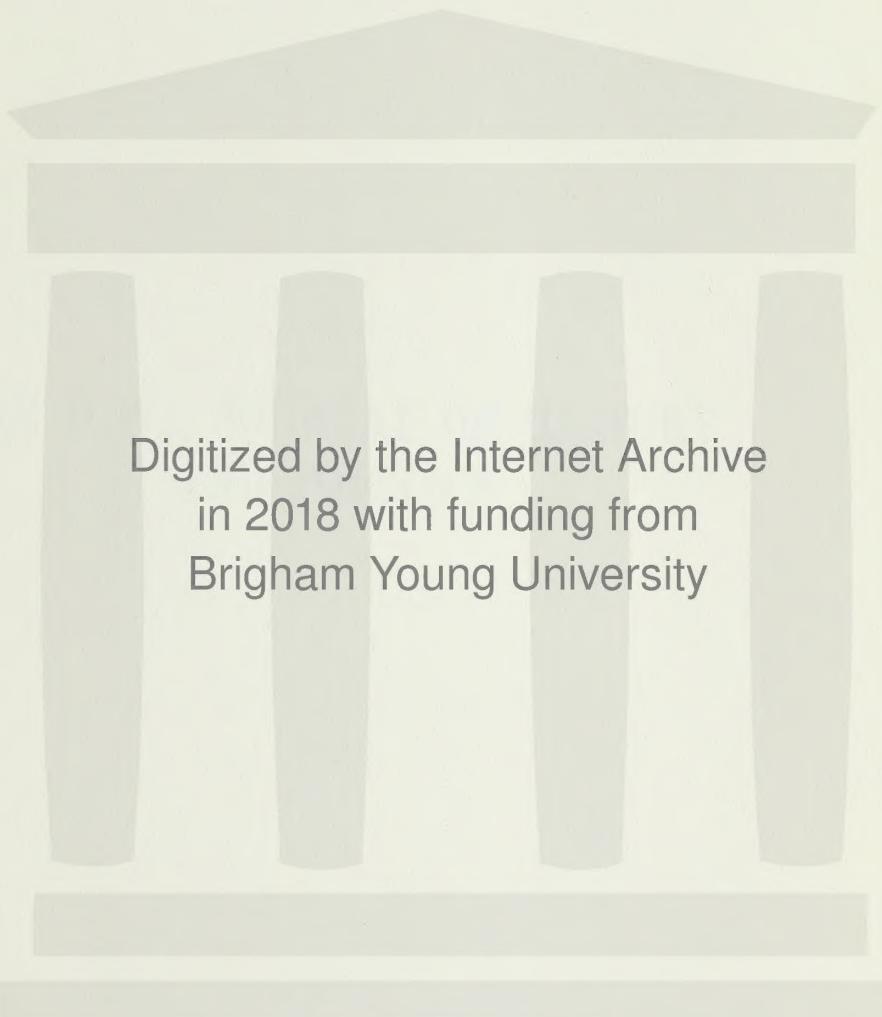




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**THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY  
AND POLITICS**



THE  
IOWA JOURNAL  
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HISTORY AND POLITICS

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**THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS**  
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**VOL. XVI—1**



## ARMS AND EQUIPMENT FOR THE IOWA TROOPS IN THE CIVIL WAR

At the outbreak of the Civil War the State of Iowa was in a condition of almost total disarmament. Not a single company of regular troops was stationed within the limits of the State; and there was not a fort, garrison, military post, or arsenal located on Iowa soil. The nearest arsenal was at St. Louis. Indeed, in 1861 there were but two arsenals west of the Mississippi River: at St. Louis and at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. There had been some agitation for the establishment of military posts at Fort Dodge, Sioux City, and Council Bluffs, but it had been stifled by the "masterly inactivity" of the General Assembly. That body, for a number of years previous to the conflict, had not considered military affairs seriously. The legislature had been worse than apathetic: it had been trifling, even jocose. Committees on military affairs seem to have considered it their main duty to furnish entertainment for the Assembly. A special committee appointed in 1858 to inquire into the number of arms received from the United States government and their place of deposit failed to make any report. The chief executive was also ignorant of military matters. Governor Ralph P. Lowe stated to the House of Representatives in 1858, in response to a query, that he was unable to gain definite information as to the number of arms received from the general government, and as to their condition and disposition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, March 27, 1862; *Senate Journal*, 1858, pp. 78, 103; *House Journal*, 1858, p. 502; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 201, 202.

As a matter of fact the number of arms in Iowa was almost negligible. What few arms there were in the State were of a primitive pattern and practically useless for actual warfare. Between 1850 and 1860 there had been received from the general government only 1850 muskets and 115 Harper's Ferry pattern rifles. The majority of these guns (1790 in number) were sent to the State in July, 1856, under authority of a special act of Congress of that year. They were old flint lock muskets altered to the percussion type.

This scarcity of arms in Iowa was in part the natural consequence of the "do-nothing" policy of the General Assembly, as a result of which Iowa was not receiving its quota of arms. It was said that while "other States, by reason of their well-directed efforts to effect a thorough military organization, have received their allotment of arms and accoutrements every year, and been provided with well-fitted up arsenals, the State of Iowa has never received anything of the kind, if we except a few muskets set aside to her by a special act of Congress in 1856". This situation had arisen because "in the absence of all laws for the enrollment and organization of the militia, of course the proper returns could not be made, and as a consequence the Secretary of War very properly refused to transfer to this State its quota of arms and accoutrements, camp equippages, etc."<sup>2</sup>

Even had arms been issued to Iowa each year as they were to the other States, the number would have been much less than a State with the population of Iowa should have received. The distribution was based on the Congressional

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Adjutant-General of Iowa, 1861*, pp. 9, 10; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records, Ser. III, Vol. I*, p. 57; *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 11, 1861. Iowa had received a few muskets in 1851 and a few rifles in 1858, but in the main this statement was true.—*Report of the Adjutant-General of Iowa, 1861*, pp. 9, 10.

apportionment of 1850, whereas, by the census of 1860 it was shown that between 1850 and 1860 Iowa had increased in population 251 per cent. Wisconsin had increased 154 per cent, Illinois 101 per cent, Michigan 90 per cent, Indiana 37 per cent, and Ohio 18 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

In 1860 a few arms were placed in Iowa by the Federal government. These consisted of one hundred rifled muskets of .58-inch caliber, costing \$13.93; and twelve long-range rifles of .58-inch caliber, costing \$17.43. Indeed, it appears that in 1860 Iowa was treated more liberally than either Wisconsin or Illinois. At this time some ordnance, a few revolvers, and the like were also furnished to the State.<sup>4</sup> Early in 1861, before the war began, Iowa received forty rifled muskets and one hundred rifles. Thus it is evident that the arms in Iowa at the outbreak of the war were few in number. While not strictly accurate, the statement of Governor Kirkwood that "when the war broke out we had in the State some 1,500 old muskets, about 200 rifles and rifled muskets, and four 6-pounder pieces of artillery" is indicative of the situation. A later writer has declared there were "no arms worth counting in all the state", and in this statement there is probably more than a modicum of truth.<sup>5</sup>

What few guns were owned by the State of Iowa at this time were in the hands of local militia companies, unorganized, undrilled, and scattered throughout the State. The captain of each company of not less than thirty men, could,

<sup>3</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 128; *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, April 13, 1861.

<sup>4</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 28; *Report of the Adjutant-General of Iowa*, 1861, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Report of the Adjutant-General of Iowa*, 1861, p. 10; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 560, 561; *Byers's Iowa in War Times*, p. 29; *Lathrop's The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 113; *Laws of Iowa*, 1856 (Extra Session), p. 89; *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, April 25, 1861, p. 5; *Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye*, September 6, 1861.

upon filing a bond "for their safe keeping and return there-of" secure from the Governor a loan of arms for his men. He in turn took individual bonds from the members of his company for each gun entrusted to their keeping. A part of the guns were also placed in the hands of companies and individuals along the northern and western borders, where there was danger of Indian raids. Some communities had secured a small number of arms from private sources in addition to those furnished by the State. Thus the people of the little village of Epworth had in their possession some musketry and a village cannon. At Washington, Iowa, a makeshift cannon was constructed out of a steel tube covered with iron.<sup>6</sup>

#### ARMS FOR BORDER DEFENSE

The actual coming of war created an urgent need for arms and ammunition. Not only must the frontier be protected from Indian raids, but the southern border of the State must be made safe from incursions of Confederate sympathizers from Missouri. There was also felt to be some danger from "Copperheads" within the State. "The cry for 'muskets,' 'more muskets,' came up from every quarter of the state", and the efforts of Governor Kirkwood to secure arms were unceasing. But home defense was only one phase of the problem. The troops that were to be raised for service at the front must also be armed, clothed, and equipped. This was one of the most troublesome questions with which Governor Kirkwood had to contend. While the Federal government agreed to furnish arms and equipments for the troops after they were mustered into service, they were to be maintained at the expense of the State until that time. Besides, the War Department

<sup>6</sup> One hundred and seventy muskets were "Lost, destroyed, and not accounted for".—*Report of the Adjutant-General of Iowa, 1861*, p. 11.

was unable to meet all needs immediately, and for a time the State was obliged to care for the troops even after they were mustered into United States service.<sup>7</sup>

Efforts to secure arms for the State were made even before the outbreak of the war. On January 25, 1861, Governor Kirkwood appealed to the Secretary of War for an additional number of arms to be stored at Des Moines or Fort Dodge, to be used in case of an Indian outbreak. He also suggested the advisability of stationing a United States army officer at one of these places. Later, the withdrawal of the troops from Fort Randall and Fort Kearny on the upper Missouri caused so much uneasiness on the western border of Iowa that on April 18th Governor Kirkwood asked the War Department to store five hundred long-range rifles at Council Bluffs and a like number at Sioux City.<sup>8</sup> At the same time he advised the residents of the border counties to form themselves into companies of "minute men" for their own protection, promising that arms would be supplied as soon as they could be secured. On April 25th he wrote to Caleb Baldwin at Council Bluffs that there "are not now any arms to send there except about fifty muskets that will be sent at once. The people should organize as minute men, and arm themselves with private arms as best they can." "Double-barreled shot-guns and hunting rifles", wrote the Governor to another citizen of Iowa, "although not the best, are good arms in the hands of brave men."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 46; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 118.

<sup>8</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 57, 86, 89. Captain Taylor, the Commandant at Fort Kearny, had, before leaving the fort, spiked twelve of the best cannon under his charge.—*The Dubuque Weekly Times*, May 30, 1861, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 11, 1861; Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 134; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 561.

Appeals for arms came in from every corner of the State. Caleb Baldwin, a Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court, resident at Council Bluffs, appealed directly to the Secretary of War for arms for use in the protection of the western border. The people of Sioux City were equally as anxious as those of Council Bluffs to secure the means of defense. Citizens of the southern counties also became clamorous for arms. Everywhere companies organized for war service were requesting arms with which to drill.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile the Governor was "moving heaven & earth almost" to get a supply of arms for the State. There were men in abundance, but it seemed impossible to secure arms. The State was without funds. In a speech at Davenport on the evening of April 16th, Governor Kirkwood had estimated that the enlistment and maintenance of the first regiment would probably cost about ten thousand dollars, and stated that he would undertake to raise that sum at once, if he had to pledge every dollar of his own property. His letter to the Secretary of War on April 18th was followed on April 23rd by the sending of Senator Grimes as a special messenger to Washington to secure arms. On April 24th Kirkwood wrote to the Governor of Connecticut asking if arms could be bought of private manufacturers in that State. Owing to the interruption of the mail and telegraph nothing had yet been heard from these sources on May 1st.<sup>11</sup>

Governor Kirkwood seemed unable to impress the authorities at Washington with the need for arms in Iowa. Secretary Cameron replied to Kirkwood's letter of April

<sup>10</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 71; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 89, 128.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Kirkwood to A. J. Withrow of Salem, Iowa, April 30, 1861, in *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 39; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), April 22, May 13, 1861; *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 15, 1861.

18th that if the Iowa troops were removed from the State "provision will be made to meet . . . . the emergencies" on the western border. On the same day the Governor wrote a second letter to the Secretary of War. "If no arrangement has yet been made for arms for this State, do, for God's sake, send us some", was his appeal. "We should have at least 5,000 beyond those required to arm the troops the United States may require — say, one-half rifles." The officials at Washington apparently thought that arms and soldiers at Keokuk afforded sufficient protection to the State. "A glance at the map of Iowa", again wrote the Governor on May 4th, "will show you that the troops raised in this State will at Keokuk be at least 300 miles from the nearest point (Council Bluffs), and 400 miles from the point (Sioux City) most exposed to Indian depredations."<sup>12</sup>

But back came the reply that "1,000 stand of arms ought to be forwarded to Keokuk, to be there taken in charge by Colonel Curtis or some other responsible person, to be used in case of an emergency." Again Governor Kirkwood protested that Iowa was a large State, with only a few miles of railroad, absolutely defenseless so far as arms were concerned, and with danger threatening from ruffians on the South and Indians on the frontier. "We have no arms", he wrote. "I cannot, after diligent inquiry, learn where any can be bought . . . . I must be allowed to urge again the absolute necessity of sending a liberal supply to this State beyond the quota to arm the troops raised here for the service of the United States." At this time Illinois, a well settled State with almost no exposed border, had been well supplied with arms.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 127, 128, 158.

<sup>13</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 162, 185, 186; *Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye*, May 21, 1861.

Letters were written to John A. Kasson, Fitz Henry Warren, and other persons in Washington, urging them to impress upon the President the need of this State for arms. "Every manufacturer of arms in the country was telegraphed and written to for a supply", but the time required to manufacture arms made it impracticable to place dependence on this source of supply. Besides, the State bonds were not in demand, and cash payments were out of the question. Arrangements were made with a military committee in Chicago for a loan of one thousand guns which the committee was to receive, along with others, from the Springfield Arsenal. But the arms were stopped in transit before they reached Chicago, upon information from the Governor of Illinois that that State had been supplied with arms from St. Louis.<sup>14</sup> When Governor Kirkwood learned that Governor Yates of Illinois had received a supply of arms from St. Louis largely in excess of the requisition in his favor,<sup>15</sup> he wrote him a letter and also despatched a special messenger to Springfield to secure some of the guns, if possible.<sup>16</sup> This attempt also was unsuccessful.

<sup>14</sup> Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 138; *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 182-184; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 163; *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 15, 1861.

<sup>15</sup> This was the reason why Iowa was unable to secure arms from the St. Louis Arsenal. Captain Stokes of Chicago had an order for ten thousand stand of arms from the War Department. He went to St. Louis to secure them and found the arsenal threatened by secessionists. As a decoy he had five hundred old muskets taken to one point on the river to be sent off for repairs. The crowd was attracted there, and in the meantime the arsenal force worked until two o'clock at night loading the rest of the arms on a steamboat bound for Alton and Springfield. With the consent of the officer in charge, Captain Stokes over-drew his order and took 21,000 muskets, 500 rifles, 500 revolvers, 110,000 musket cartridges, and a number of cannon.—*Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), May 6, 1861, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 35, 39; *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 15, 1861; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 163.

On the 2nd of May, 1861, Governor Kirkwood telegraphed to Simeon Draper, President of the Union Defense Committee at New York. "For God's sake, send us arms", was the message flashed over the wires. "Our First regiment has been in drill a week, a thousand strong. It has tents and blankets, but no arms. The Second regiment is full, and drilling. *Send us arms.* Ten thousand men can be had, if they can have arms." Four days later he wrote to General John E. Wool, Commander of the Department of the East, informing him of the situation, and requesting "5,000 long-range rifles or rifle muskets and accoutrements, with proper ammunition". A letter dated May 9th, to Eli Whitney of Connecticut, inquired the prices of rifles equal in quality to the United States long-range rifles.<sup>17</sup>

Efforts to secure arms from the East continued throughout the summer. Indeed, in August, 1861, the Governor himself went to New York and Washington to secure arms and make arrangements for insuring peace on the borders of the State.<sup>18</sup> His failure was largely due to the fact that the State bonds were not salable.<sup>19</sup>

During this period, however, there was not a total lack of arms in the exposed portions of the State. Arms were taken from places where there was no immediate need for them and transferred to the border. All guns in every part of the State were cleaned and repaired and made service-

<sup>17</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 47; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 163; *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 139.

<sup>18</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 72; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 433; *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 309. Gov. Kirkwood was again in Washington late in 1862.—*Iowa City Republican*, January 6, 1863.

<sup>19</sup> *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 413-415. On August 3, 1861, the Governor wrote: "My contract for rifles and revolvers failed, because I had no money to pay for them."—Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 72. For a discussion of the State bond issue see Pollock's *The Iowa War Loan of 1861* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XV, pp. 467-502.

able. "Get the 55 muskets of J. M. Byers, at Oskaloosa," wrote the Adjutant General to James Matthews of Knoxville, "and another 12 from E. Sells at Des Moines, and place yourself in defense against traitors." On May 9th the Governor wrote to W. S. Robinson, Captain of the Union Guards at Columbus City: "Please accept for yourself & your company my thanks for their cheerful surrender of their arms. . . . it increases my regard for your company that have been willing to make this sacrifice without complaint for the protection of their fellow citizens who are exposed to danger." Many of the newly organized volunteer companies were compelled to drill without arms. It was reported that a Des Moines cavalry company was using wooden swords and it was suggested that they might ride wooden horses as well.<sup>20</sup> In some places the people secured their own arms without aid from the State. At Bloomfield, it was said, the Home Guards "have adopted and will procure for arms the 'Menard rifle' ".<sup>21</sup>

The Governor and his aids were very active in securing arms and ammunition for the Home Guards, and for the newly formed companies in the State. Early in May they seized the powder in the magazine at Davenport without lawful authority. "I have forwarded to Council Bluffs 140 stands of arms," the Governor told the General Assembly late in May, "and have ordered one 8-lb. field piece and forty revolvers with the necessary equipments and ammunition transported thither without delay, incurring for express charges, freight, etc., an expense now known of \$359.95. The force necessary to protect the north and western frontier should be had by organizing in each county

<sup>20</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 34; *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 140, 141; *Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye*, May 18, 1861.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted from the *Bloomfield Clarion* in the *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), May 6, 1861.

a company of mounted rangers . . . . the expense attending such force consists in furnishing each member of a company with a rifle and sword bayonet valued at from \$23 to \$50, and a Colt's revolver valued at \$22 to \$25." The Council Bluffs "Flying Artillery" and "Union Cavalry" received a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. The infantry companies complained of neglect. Indeed, Lieutenant C. C. Rice of the "Council Bluffs Guards" spent weeks making cartridges for his company. But the artillery by July had enough ammunition to practice at target shooting. And in September there were enough arms on the western border to warrant the withdrawal of the Des Moines Cavalry from Council Bluffs.<sup>22</sup>

Other points were not neglected. By June 27th sixty muskets had been sent to Page County, forty long-range rifles to Taylor County, and muskets to other points. By July several hundred arms had been distributed along the southern border. "The Governor's efforts to supply the border with the means of protection have been highly praiseworthy", declared an Iowa editor. The people made their own cartridges by the thousands. In Keokuk it was said that "all the guns and muskets in the city have been or are being cleaned and repaired". In a border paper appeared the following advertisement: "Wanted, about 75,000 stand of fire arms, of all sorts, to repair ready for peace or war, at the New Gun Making and Repairing Establishment, by W. DUNCAN, on Broadway, opposite City Hotel".<sup>23</sup>

The members of all militia companies were required to

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Kirkwood to Mr. Bridgman of Keokuk, May 10, 1861, in *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 178; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), May 6, 1861; Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 135; *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 25, June 1, July 20, September 21, 1861. See also *Council Bluffs Bugle*, August 11, 1864.

<sup>23</sup> *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, June 27, 1861; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), July 22, 29, 1861; *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, April 20, 1861.

turn in arms, ammunition, and accoutrements. Jesse Bowen presented the State with a brass eight-pounder cannon and eighty rifles.<sup>24</sup> At Davenport there was a foundry owned by Mr. Donahue, who had been "occupied two years at West Point making cannon balls, bomb-shells, &c, and during the Mexican war engaged in making the same materials for the use of our army."<sup>25</sup> It was urged that he should now make arms and ammunition for the Iowa troops. In October, 1861, the Dubuque Shot Tower was putting out one hundred sacks of shot per day.<sup>26</sup>

In October, 1861, the War Department was still making excuses because it was not able to supply artillery and small arms for border defense. Money was voted by the General Assembly of Iowa at the extra session of 1861 for the purchase of five thousand stand of arms, but they had not yet been purchased in January, 1862.<sup>27</sup>

Eventually Governor Kirkwood organized companies and supplied arms to them in the first and second tiers of counties along the southern border, but this work was not completed until in 1863. These companies furnished their own clothing, horses, and equipments. As late as August 18, 1862, Josiah B. Grinnell wrote from the southern border to Governor Kirkwood: "We want arms. Can we not have them?" In March, 1863, Governor Kirkwood wrote to the War Department: "I regard it as a matter of the first and most pressing importance to get a supply of arms and ammunition." He asked at this time for five thousand stand

<sup>24</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 4, 1861; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 43.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted from the *Davenport Gazette* in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 11, 1861.

<sup>26</sup> *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, October 3, 1861, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 574; *Report of the Adjutant-General of Iowa*, 1861, p. 13.

of arms, accoutrements, and ammunition.<sup>28</sup> They were needed to put down expected resistance to the draft and compel the payment of taxes. There was still a scarcity of arms in southern Iowa at the time of the "Tally War" in 1863.<sup>29</sup>

#### ARMS FOR IOWA INFANTRY REGIMENTS IN FEDERAL SERVICE

Throughout the entire summer of 1861 barely enough arms were available to supply the Iowa volunteers, and it was only after much delay that guns were secured. "Where are the arms promised to our regiments?", the Adjutant General inquired in August. "Do send us arms for our infantry and cavalry." The providing of arms for the companies who enlisted for Federal service was a big task. Guns were scarce throughout the country; and an enormous supply was needed. Although eastern manufacturing plants worked at full speed they could not keep pace with the demand for arms. Especially in the West was this situation felt. Delays were many and when the arms did arrive they were unsatisfactory and often unserviceable. The

<sup>28</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 561, 562, Vol. II, pp. 403, 404, Vol. III, pp. 62, 67, 68; letter from Kirkwood to G. W. Devin of Ottumwa, February 16, 1863, in *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 5, p. 110.

<sup>29</sup> Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 248.

An artillery squad which accompanied the Governor to the scene of this skirmish, having no ammunition for their guns, cut up bars and rods of iron into inch pieces "to do duty in the place of canister, grape and solid shot."—Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 248.

It was here, also, that the following occurrence took place. One of the artillermen was standing guard with his gun in the early morning. "A stranger, led by curiosity or as a spy from the Tally camp, came up within speaking distance of the guard, and asked him what he had there". The reply was, "That, sir, by —, is a butternut cracker."—Lathrop's *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 251, 252.

In July, 1863, the authorities intercepted a box containing "double-barrelled rifles made of the most approved pattern", destined for the Knights of the Golden Circle.—*Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, July 28, 1863.

arms that were refused by eastern troops were frequently sent to the western companies.<sup>30</sup>

The call for the first regiment of Iowa volunteers was issued on April 15, 1861. This regiment was to serve for three months. Calls for additional regiments came in steadily throughout the next three years. Most of the troops from Iowa were enlisted for three years, although some regiments were made up of hundred day men and others of men who enlisted for various terms. Iowa furnished a total of between seventy and eighty thousand troops. To arm and equip this number alone was a large task at that time. When it is remembered that the Iowa troops constituted only a small part of the great Union army, it is little wonder that there was delay and confusion in the accomplishment of the task.<sup>31</sup>

For the most part the first two regiments were made up of independent, voluntary militia companies which had been organized before the war. The companies in existence at the outbreak of the war were poorly armed. Scarcely a company had a full stand of arms, and the guns they did own were in many cases not fit for use in war, although they would do for drill purposes. Later companies prior to enlistment sometimes used the guns of former companies who had been taken into United States service and been given a new supply of guns.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 407.

Assistant Secretary of War Scott wrote in September, 1861, to Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania that "We shall send the arms you cannot use to the West", when that official had protested against some Prussian muskets which had been furnished him.—*War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 526, 538. Possibly these were the identical four thousand muskets which the Iowa troops received later in the same year.—*Report of the Adjutant-General of Iowa*, 1861, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 68, 69; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 28; Phisterer's *Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States*, pp. 3-11; Briggs's *The Enlistment of Iowa Troops during the Civil War* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XV, p. 373.

<sup>32</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), July 1, 1861.

Especially was difficulty encountered in arming the first few regiments from Iowa. The United States government agreed to furnish the arms and accoutrements. The arms so furnished were distributed through the agency of the Adjutant General, who had been required by law to serve as Acting Quartermaster General. The First Iowa Regiment was in rendezvous at Keokuk more than a week before the time set, and could have been there sooner, but the "Governor saw no special reason for hurrying them on to the rendezvous before the arrival of arms".<sup>33</sup>

Arms for seven hundred and eighty men were to have been retained at the St. Louis Arsenal when the shipment was sent to Springfield, Illinois, but for some reason they were not left. On May 10th Governor Kirkwood wrote to the Secretary of War that the "First Iowa Regiment is in rendezvous at Keokuk, and I hope will soon be supplied with arms." Earlier in May Captain R. G. Herron had been sent by the Governor to Springfield, Illinois, with a requisition for five thousand stand of arms. "He found nothing there but the old flint-lock muskets, which have been altered to percussion. There were also bayonets, but no scabbards. He very properly refused to touch any of them, and returned empty handed."<sup>34</sup>

The troops at Keokuk lived in daily expectation of their arms. On May 17th word came that two thousand stand had been ordered from St. Louis. And on Sunday morning, May 19th, two thousand of these "precious treasures" arrived from St. Louis, "escorted by a company from

<sup>33</sup> *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, April 25, 1861; *Report of Adjutant-General of Iowa*, 1864, p. xiv; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), May 13, 1861.

<sup>34</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 162, 185; Wilkie's *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, p. 14.

Mr. Franc B. Wilkie accompanied the First Regiment of Iowa Volunteers as correspondent for *The Dubuque Herald* and the *New York Times*. The work to which reference is made is a collection of his letters to *The Dubuque Herald*, printed in 1861.

Quincy", to guard them from secessionists. "I think it would be a master stroke of policy to allow the secessionists to steal them", wrote Franc B. Wilkie to the *Dubuque Herald*. "They are the 'old-fashioned-brass-mounted-and-of-such-is-the-kingdom-of-Heaven' kind that are infinitely more dangerous to friend than enemy — will kick further than they will shoot, and are appropriately known from their awkward peculiarities in this and other respects, among our Germans as *Kuh-fuss* — 'Cow-foot.' They were brought hither by Col. Curtis for the use of the 2nd Regiment but were stopped by Lieut. Chambers, and by some happy arrangement between him and Curtis, 1000 of them have been retained here for the use of the 1st Regiment. Their appearance creates intense disgust in the mind of every recruit.

"Why is it that our Iowa regiments cannot be armed and equipped, say one-half as well as the regiments of Illinois? All of the latter are armed with the very best arms in use, either Sharpe's or Minie rifles — our men are put off with an old rusty machine that is a cross between a blunderbuss and a Chinese matchlock, and is one which would excite the merriment even of a Digger Indian, unless he happened to be behind it."<sup>35</sup>

"The bayonets don't shine at all," commented the *Des Moines Valley Whig*, "and we learn that the soldiers don't much affect the old-fashioned smooth bore. But there is a prospect that new patterns will be received before long." This prospect was based on the achievement of Colonel Samuel R. Curtis, who had been sent to Washington to secure arms. He returned soon after the middle of May, having obtained an order for two thousand guns; while cartridge boxes, bayonet scabbards, and waistbands were

<sup>35</sup> *The Dubuque Herald*, May 17, 1861; Wilkie's *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, pp. 24, 25.

to be made and shipped by express from Pittsburg immediately. The above named accoutrements arrived in Keokuk the fore part of June, and were put in Burns & Rentgen's warehouse. There were enough of them to equip the first and second regiments.<sup>36</sup>

The muskets, however, which were furnished the First Iowa Regiment were not replaced.<sup>37</sup> Upon receiving the order to move south from Keokuk, one of the men with the First Regiment of Iowa Volunteers wrote home: "Heaven forgive us all our sins if we are to be sent down among those rampageous, half-horse, half-alligator 'Border Ruf-fians,' with only these old muskets and triangular bayonets! If we ain't kicked over the borders at the very first discharge, it will be through the special interposition of Providence — or it will be through the same influence, if we are not all dead in three weeks from lugging so much rusty old iron about the hot fastnesses of Missouri. We shall be equally in danger from the muzzles of Missourian muskets and the breeches of our own". An attempt was made by a Union regiment in Missouri to supply these men with new guns, but nothing came of it. Indeed, the men of the First Regiment were doubtless the most illy armed and clothed troops that Iowa furnished.<sup>38</sup>

The story of the arming of later regiments is one of continued delay and dissatisfaction. Arms were supposed to be supplied to the troops before they left the State, but often this result was not accomplished. The Second Iowa

<sup>36</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), May 20, 27, June 10, 1861.

<sup>37</sup> The Governor's Greys of Dubuque were armed with rifled muskets. Probably they secured them from private sources before leaving Dubuque. To offset the advantage of having superior arms, the Greys were inconvenienced by the necessity of running their own bullets to fit them, since they were of a different caliber from the rest of the arms.— Wilkie's *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>38</sup> *The Dubuque Herald*, June 18, 1861; Wilkie's *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, p. 65.

Regiment "was placed in rendezvous at Keokuk, and without arms." This regiment, together with the Third and Fourth Regiments, was reported on June 8, 1861, to be in rendezvous "anxiously awaiting arms." The Third Regiment left Keokuk without cartridges or cartridge boxes. "Destitute of all equipment but empty muskets and bayonets, and without means of transportation," the Third Regiment was on July 1st "hastened westward more than halfway across the state [Missouri]." Not until August 23rd were three thousand "Improved Muskets" shipped "on the Jeannie Deans to the Iowa troops in St. Louis and Missouri." Minie rifles were to have been furnished.<sup>39</sup>

Varied were the arms dealt out to the Iowa troops. Many of the guns were old flint-lock muskets altered to percussion.<sup>40</sup> Other troops received rifled muskets, Austrian muskets, Prussian muskets, Belgian rifles, Harper's Ferry muskets, Spencer's carbines, Sharps carbines, Colt's revolvers, navy revolvers, Whitworth rifles, Colt's revolving rifles, Minie rifles, or Enfield rifles. During the year 1862 the State of Iowa received from the United States government one thousand Austrian rifles (caliber .58); twenty-seven hundred Austrian rifles (caliber .54); ten thousand

<sup>39</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, pp. 47, 484; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 261; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), July 1, August 26, 1861; *The Gate City* (Keokuk), July 1, 1861.

<sup>40</sup> These arms were generally regarded by the soldiers as worthless. A resident of Dubuque, who claimed to have "had some experience under Government, in this matter," and who signed himself "ORDINANCE", championed them and asserted that they were "as serviceable as any that can be issued from the War Department, with the exception, perhaps, of the rifled musket, which latter arm requires no inconsiderable experience on the part of the soldier". Their propensity to "kick" he explained away by saying that "in the discharge of innumerable guns, during an engagement, it is necessary that the soldier feels his to be among the number that have been discharged." A little cleaning, polishing, and browning, he declared, would make them "as good as if fresh from the national armories". The conviction which his brief carries is somewhat dissipated by the orthography of the writer's *nom de guerre*.—*The Dubuque Weekly Times*, June 27, 1861.

Enfield rifles (caliber .58); fifty-nine hundred Prussian muskets (caliber .72); nine hundred Prussian rifled muskets (caliber .69); six hundred Springfield muskets (caliber .69); one thousand Garibaldi rifled muskets (caliber .71); twelve hundred French rifles (caliber .58); twelve hundred Colt's revolvers; and twelve hundred sabres, with accoutrements for all.<sup>41</sup>

The Enfield rifle was the arm which the soldiers were always desirous of securing, since it was one of the best guns in the service at the time. It is interesting to note that an improved Enfield rifle is the arm used in the present war by the English troops and will probably be used by the American troops.<sup>42</sup>

A part of the Fourth Iowa Infantry Regiment received muskets while still in rendezvous at Camp Kirkwood, Council Bluffs. The rifles had been stored at Fort Kearny and it is said that the order for their delivery was made out by Robert E. Lee, who was at that time Chief of Staff to Lieutenant General Scott, Chief of the Army. Better arms were supplied to the regiment in the field late in September. There was also a battery consisting of four twelve-pound howitzers connected with the Fourth Regiment.<sup>43</sup>

The Fifth Iowa Regiment was sworn into service at Burlington on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of July, 1861. Arms were distributed to the men of this regiment just a month later, on the way to the front. They, too, were given com-

<sup>41</sup> *Report of the Adjutant-General of Iowa*, 1862, Vol. I, pp. xvi, xvii.

<sup>42</sup> There is an interesting Civil War anecdote told in connection with the Enfield rifles. One of the nurses in a field hospital "approached the cot on which a wounded soldier of the Massachusetts Fifteenth regiment was lying and asked him, 'Is there anything which you think of that you want?' 'Yes,' was the quick reply, 'an Enfield rifle.' " Most of the men in his regiment were equipped with smooth-bores.—*The Dubuque Weekly Times*, November 28, 1861.

<sup>43</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, July 20, August 3, 1861; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 605; *Des Moines Valley Whig*, September 23, 1861.

mon muskets, but with the assurance that other arms would be forthcoming in about thirty days. The Sixth Iowa received "miserable Austrian muskets," concerning which a Dutch member of the regiment said, "a man might be killed more as twelve times before de tam ding would shoot off."<sup>44</sup>

The organization of the Seventh Regiment occurred soon after the battle of Bull Run. Owing to pressing military necessity this regiment was sent to the South before it was armed. They received their arms at St. Louis, "the flank companies 'A' and 'B' getting the Springfield rifle with tape self primers, and the other eight companies received the improved 'buck and ball' Springfield musket."<sup>45</sup> This regiment was also given eight pieces of artillery.<sup>46</sup> Belgian muskets were supplied to the Eighth Regiment at Keokuk on its way down the river to St. Louis. These guns were received with dissatisfaction by the men. "Uneven caliber, some crooked barrels, locks out of repair! The boys called them 'pumpkin slingers' and pronounced the crooked barrels adapted to shooting around hills."<sup>47</sup>

The Eleventh Iowa Regiment, while it has the distinction of being "the first full regiment, completely uniformed, armed and equipped, which, as such, trod the soil of Iowa", was, nevertheless, unfortunate enough to secure percussion lock, smooth-bore muskets.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 488; *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, February 6, 1862; *Des Moines Valley Whig*, October 21, 1861.

<sup>45</sup> Smith's *History of the Seventh Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War*, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> *The Dubuque Herald*, July 21, 1861. Six-pound brass howitzers for Iowa troops were made in Omaha by Charles Hendrie and furnished at a contract price of one thousand dollars each.—*The Dubuque Weekly Times*, September 12, 1861.

<sup>47</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, pp. 495, 496.

<sup>48</sup> *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. I, p. 129; *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, November 9, 1861.

Within one month after being mustered into service the Twelfth Iowa received arms and accoutrements. This regiment, "owing to the persistent effort of Colonel Woods or the influence which he had with 'the powers that be,' . . . . was so fortunate that while others—the Thirteenth Iowa, for instance—was being armed with Harper's Ferry muskets altered from old flintlocks, or with Belgian smoothbores, the Twelfth received the very best arms then in the service—new Enfield rifles, of which the men were very proud." The Fourteenth Regiment was armed by companies. Three companies had received their arms and were on their way to Fort Randall, in Dakota Territory, late in October, 1861, while the remaining companies had not received arms late in November. When guns were received they were of the poorest sort. W. W. Kirkwood, a nephew of Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, wrote to his uncle from Benton Barracks on January 12, 1862, complaining of the character of the arms furnished, and asking him to do something to remedy the situation. The arms were worthless, said the young soldier, who declared that "there was one to my certain knowledge Broken by striking it lightly across a pine Box. The barrel broke entirely off in two places." Many of the muskets, he said, burst at the first discharge.<sup>49</sup>

The members of the Eighteenth Iowa Regiment were armed with Austrian rifled muskets upon their arrival in St. Louis; while the Twenty-first Iowa was unusually fortunate in the matter of arms. Going into rendezvous the 25th of August, 1862, all the members of this regiment who had not been previously armed were equipped with Enfield rifles on the 9th of September. The supply of these arms, however, was not lasting. The Twenty-second and Twenty-

<sup>49</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 507; Reed's *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, p. 11; *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, October 31, 1861; *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), December 2, 1861; *Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 433.

fourth Regiments were compelled to drill with wooden guns and swords of their own manufacture.<sup>50</sup>

Indeed, although a requisition for arms for the "Temperance Regiment"—the Twenty-fourth—was issued early in August, "the regiment paraded and drilled with wooden swords and guns until the middle of October", when it was lucky enough to secure new Enfield rifles. On September 20th Adjutant General Baker wrote to the Secretary of War, asking for arms for ten additional regiments. They were almost immediately furnished.<sup>51</sup>

Enfield rifles were furnished to the men of the Twenty-fifth Iowa Regiment on their way down the Mississippi to the field of action. Yet to the Thirty-third Regiment were issued smooth-bore muskets, which were not exchanged for Enfields until some months afterward. And as late as December, 1862, Governor Kirkwood wrote to Edwin M. Stanton, protesting against the character of arms furnished to the Thirty-fifth Iowa Infantry, and asking that they be exchanged for "serviceable guns". Later, the Thirty-eighth Regiment received satisfactory arms before leaving the camp at Dubuque.<sup>52</sup>

During the early years of the war the guns were so constructed that it was necessary for the men to bite off the ends of the cartridges before loading. Indeed, at the time of the draft, some of those drafted attempted to escape service by having their teeth pulled, thus rendering them

<sup>50</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. II, p. 287; *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), August 20, 1862; *Dubuque Weekly Herald*, August 20, 1862; Crooke's *The Twenty-first Regiment of Iowa Volunteer Infantry*, p. 13; Jones's *Reminiscences of the Twenty-Second Iowa Volunteer Infantry*, p. 8; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>51</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. II, pp. 325, 575, 577; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>52</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), November 5, 1862; Sperry's *History of the 33d Iowa Infantry Volunteer Regiment*, p. 3; *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 5, p. 44; *Dubuque Democratic Herald*, December 24, 1862.

incapable of tearing the cartridges. But toward the end of the war, muskets were used which made this process unnecessary. The rifles used in 1863 by the Dubuque Union Guards, a company which later served as "Hundred Days Men", were "of the Austrian pattern, of which the company have one hundred, with all the accompanying equipments, including 5,000 rounds of ammunition. The guns are of the latest improved pattern, and are made so that the owner is not obliged to bite off the ends of the cartridges, a little instrument accomplishing that work for him, thus enabling one to load and fire almost twice as quick as by the old method." Other companies of these "Hundred Days Men" of 1864 were furnished Enfield rifles. Arms were seemingly plentiful at this time.<sup>53</sup>

#### ARMS FOR CAVALRY AND ARTILLERY

The cavalry and artillery, while perhaps faring somewhat better than the infantry, were also subjected to delays and disappointments. For some time the members of the First Iowa Cavalry were armed only with pistols and sabers. The First Iowa Battery was given its first armament at Benton Barracks in December, 1861. This consisted of "four 6-pounder guns and two 12-pounder howitzers". Not until April 29, 1864, did the battery receive "its new armament of six 10-pounder Parrott guns."<sup>54</sup>

The Second Iowa Cavalry in the beginning of its service was likewise armed only with sabers and pistols. Later, however, the men were more satisfactorily armed, some companies with Colt's revolving rifles and some with Sharps carbines. The Third Cavalry was much more speedily

<sup>53</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, August 11, 1863, June 7, 1864; *Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye*, October 27, 1864; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 2, p. 757.

<sup>54</sup> Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, p. 43; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, pp. 596, 597.

equipped. By December of 1861 the members of this regiment were "said to be fully armed and equipped with carbines, sabres, and navy revolvers". The Fourth Regiment of Cavalry was mustered in and under marching orders for Fort Leavenworth, and still was without arms late in January, 1862.<sup>55</sup>

But not until March, 1862, were arms added to the heavy dragoon sabers carried by the Fourth Cavalry. And "what arms" they were when they were furnished! They were described as follows:

About four hundred men were loaded with "Austrian" rifles, a very heavy and clumsy, though rather short, infantry gun, a muzzle-loader, with a ramrod. Half the remainder had "Starr's" revolver, a five-shooter, percussion-cap and paper-cartridge pistol, of a bad pattern and poorly made, while all, or nearly all, received a pair of horse-pistols, to be carried in holsters on the pommel of the saddle, the smooth-bore, single-barrelled, muzzle-loader used in the Mexican war.

These rifles and revolvers never gained favor in the regiment; indeed, it is probable that they did more harm than good, because there was a general want of reliance upon them. The Starr revolver caused more fear in the regiment than it ever did among the enemy. Its shot was very uncertain, its machinery often failed to work, and it had a vicious tendency to go off at a wrong moment. The holster-pistols were better thought of. They were found to be more effective than the revolvers, and far more easily managed than the rifles. Many of them were retained until the Colt's revolvers came, in 1863.<sup>56</sup>

The Second Regiment of Iowa Cavalry, after it was transformed, in March, 1864, into the Second Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers, was, on the 19th of June, "armed with *Spencer's Seven Shooting Carbines*. This was the best arm

<sup>55</sup> Pierce's *History of the Second Iowa Cavalry*, pp. 12, 26, 27, 54, 70; *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), December 16, 1861; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 786, 790.

<sup>56</sup> Scott's *The Story of a Cavalry Regiment: The Career of the Fourth Iowa Veteran Volunteers*, pp. 25, 26.

in service, carrying a forced ball, and so arranged that the mounted trooper could throw fourteen balls from it per minute — dismounted, a little more.” Some Confederate prisoners captured by a squad of the Second Cavalry armed with these guns “asked to see ‘one of the guns you all fight with,’ ” and added, “you bring them to your shoulder and hold them there, while a continuous stream of lead rolls from them into our faces. It is no use for us to fight you’ens with that kind of gun.” Later one of the prisoners inquired if the cavalrymen “loaded Sundays and fired all the week.”<sup>57</sup>

Occasionally the Iowa troops would secure guns from captured prisoners or from a store of arms taken in a skirmish. The First Iowa Cavalry at one time secured in this manner seventy-three wagons, five hundred horses and mules, eleven hundred rifles and shot guns, one hundred pistols, and commissary stores and ammunition.<sup>58</sup>

#### UNIFORMS OF THE IOWA TROOPS

Equipment was even more conspicuously lacking than arms in Iowa in 1861, and the difficulty of securing necessary supplies during the first years of the war was correspondingly greater. For, while effective arms were not an absolute necessity until the battle-field was reached, blankets and clothing were indispensable in rendezvous camps and on the way to the scene of conflict. And while it may be true, as Napoleon suggested, that an army travels on its stomach, nevertheless, stout shoes keep the feet from dragging. Equipment must be furnished the troops immediately after enlistment. It is true that the independent militia companies which were the first to volunteer had

<sup>57</sup> Pierce’s *History of the Second Iowa Cavalry*, pp. 95, 97, 98.

<sup>58</sup> Lothrop’s *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, p. 44. See also p. 54.

uniforms; and the Governor's Greys of Dubuque offered their services to the Governor, January 15, 1861, as a "fully equipped volunteer company".<sup>59</sup> But such uniforms! They were designed for the delight of the ladies when the company was on parade, rather than for service at the front. Handsome enough were the brave lads in white, red, grey, green, blue, and every other hue of the rainbow on Fourth of July dress parades; but their uniforms would not have been as fitting had they been exposed to the rain and mud and cold which the men were later obliged to endure.

The Davenport Sarsfield Guards, although organized during the money panic of 1858, "equipped themselves with a handsome uniform".<sup>60</sup> The other companies of the State acted along similar lines. Indeed, these ante-bellum military organizations were, in the main, social organizations. Parades and balls were their chief activities and the various communities seemed to vie with one another in making their own unit most gorgeous. This tendency was evidenced later by the various uniforms worn by the different companies making up the first Iowa regiments, many of which received their initial uniforms from home town patriots. Equipment, like arms, was to be furnished by the general government before the troops left the State. But on their way to and during their stay in the camps of rendezvous, the soldiers were to be cared for by the State.

This was a work which the State might well be expected to perform, and one to which the people of Iowa responded generously. The State government was handicapped by a lack of funds. The war loan bonds were practically unsalable. In part the situation was relieved by voluntary donations from patriotic citizens, but the strain on the State finances was great. Among the first to come to the

<sup>59</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 56.

<sup>60</sup> *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. I, pp. 161, 162.

Governor's aid were two citizens of Dubuque. "The very morning after Sumter was fired on, J. K. Graves & R. E. Graves, his brother, telegraphed the Governor, saying they would claim it an honor and privilege to honor his drafts to the extent of thirty thousand dollars; leaving repayment to the pleasure of the state, if it could help equip and send the boys to the front." W. T. Smith, of Oskaloosa, together with other war Democrats, offered aid to the Governor. "Private citizens in every town vied with one another in personal sacrifice to aid in the good cause." Solomon Sturges, a Chicago millionaire, offered to loan Governor Kirkwood \$100,000.<sup>61</sup> Town funds were made up. "At little Brighton, \$1,250, cash, was raised in a few minutes from Republicans and Democrats alike, and as much more promised, to help feed and clothe the boys who volunteered."<sup>62</sup> Hiram Price and Ezekiel Clark were active in raising funds with which to equip the troops. The banks of the State, namely the State Bank and its branches, rallied to the support of the Governor. Kirkwood himself "gave his own personal bonds, pledging all his own prop-

<sup>61</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, pp. 42, 43; *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 264.

Later R. E. Graves offered to loan \$10,000 to the State on behalf of the Dubuque Branch of the State Bank. He agreed to accept payment in State bonds at par.—*Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 2, 259.

William B. Allison donated fifty dollars to the Governor's Greys, "to be spent by them as their pleasure might dictate." James C. Patterson gave ten dollars to the Keokuk Union Guards.—*The Dubuque Weekly Times*, April 25, 1861; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), April 22, 1861.

<sup>62</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 43. Later, in 1862, the Amana Community sent \$1000 to Governor Kirkwood for similar purposes. "We take the liberty", they wrote, "of sending you enclosed \$1000. Our elders or trustees are inclined to do something for our beloved Union, and as our conscience on religious principles, as you know, prohibits us, like other citizens, from bearing weapons against any other men, we beg you to use the \$1000 for the relief of our sick and wounded soldiers; or, if you think our soldiers in the field are more suffering on account of cold weather, you may use it partly for their relief."—*Iowa City Republican*, November 19, 1862.

erty and earnings, many times over, that the first soldiers of the state might have shoes to wear, blankets to sleep on, and bread to eat.”<sup>63</sup>

Many of the towns fitted out their own troops with uniforms. At a meeting of the citizens of Fort Madison it was voted to instruct the town authorities to appropriate \$2000 for the purpose of equipping the Fort Madison Rifles. “All over the state, companies were kept together drilling, their subsistence furnished by boards of supervisors or by patriotic citizens, some of whom not only helped subsist the would-be soldiers, but furnished them uniforms at their own expense.” The Decorah Guards were outfitted by the citizens of Winneshiek County. Shirts, pants, and caps were given to the Pioneer Greys by the townspeople of Cedar Falls.<sup>64</sup>

Governor Kirkwood, recognizing the instant and imperative need for clothing, at his own risk, sent Ezekiel Clark to Chicago to buy cloth for fifteen hundred uniforms. “Let the material be strong and durable”, he wrote. But unfortunately the only cloth which could be obtained was “some very poor, thin, sleazy gray satinett, half cotton and half wool, only fit for summer wear”.<sup>65</sup> This material was thought to be stout enough for uniforms for the men in the First Regiment, whose term of enlistment was for the summer months; but “the boys, before the march to Springfield in Missouri, had got their thin clothes badly worn out,

<sup>63</sup> *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 594, 595; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), April 22, 1861; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 87; Byers’s *Iowa in War Times*, p. 42.

<sup>64</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), May 20, June 10, 1861; Byers’s *Iowa in War Times*, p. 47.

<sup>65</sup> Byers’s *Iowa in War Times*, p. 45; Lathrop’s *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, pp. 117, 137. The uniforms of the first three regiments from Iowa were gray. In the summer of 1861 General McClellan forbade the use of gray uniforms by Union troops.—*Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), September 2, 1861.

especially behind, and many of them took flour sacks and made themselves aprons and wore them there instead of in front. When Gen. Lyon saw the first one of these on a soldier, he ordered him to remove it at once, but when he found its removal left the whole fighting force of that soldier without a ‘rear guard’ and exposed to the jibes and jokes of friend and foe, he ordered it quickly replaced.”<sup>66</sup>

The loyal women of the State responded nobly to the task of outfitting the first Iowa regiments. They formed “Soldiers’ Aid Societies” and undertook to cut the cloth purchased and make it up into uniforms. Especially active were the ladies of Dubuque, which city was represented by two companies in the First Regiment. The Dubuque tailors also lent their aid. Indeed, two hundred and forty-eight people helped make uniforms for the two Dubuque companies and nine days were consumed in the work. No wonder, with so many “fingers in the pie”, that the product was “somewhat lacking in the trim, artistic finish of the ‘Tailor shop.’ ”<sup>67</sup> The amount of clothing thus made and that otherwise furnished to the First Regiment was reported to the House of Representatives by Governor Kirkwood to be as follows:

Capt. Herron’s Company, Dubuque; each man, hat, frock coat, pants, two flannel shirts, two pairs of socks and one pair of shoes.

Capt. Gottschalk’s Company, Dubuque; blouse instead of coat, and other articles same as Capt. Herron’s.

<sup>66</sup> Lathrop’s *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 117. “So ragged an appearance did the First Iowa present on its march to Springfield, that Gen. Lyon called them his ‘tatterdemalion gypsies,’ and when afterward they outmarched all his other troops, he called them his ‘Iowa Greyhounds.’ ” Franc B. Wilkie wrote home that none of the First Iowa would “run from a lady or the enemy—for very shame’s sake they would not dare turn aught but their faces to either.” Clean shirts, he wrote, would be acceptable, “not . . . . so much for the sake of cleanliness as . . . . for that of appearances—clean shirts hanging out like banners in the rear, look much better than dirty ones.”—Wilkie’s *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, p. 84.

<sup>67</sup> *The Dubuque Herald*, May 9, 1861.

Capt. Cook's Company, Cedar Rapids; hat, two flannel shirts, pants, socks, and shoes, no jacket or coat.

Capt. Mahanna's Company, Iowa City; hat, jacket, pants, two flannel shirts, socks and shoes.

Capt. Wentz's Company, Davenport; hat, blouse, pants, two flannel shirts, socks and shoes.

Capt. Cummins' Company, Muscatine; cap, jacket, pants, two flannel shirts, socks and shoes.

Capt. Mason's Company, Muscatine; same as Capt. Cummins.

Capt. Matthies' Company, Burlington; hat, blouse, pants, two flannel shirts, socks and shoes.

Capt. Streaper's Company, Burlington; same as Capt. Matthies.

Capt. Wise's Company, Mt. Pleasant; same as Capt. Matthies.

I am not sure that all the Companies were furnished with all the socks, shoes and shirts. Some of the shoes, I have reason to believe, were not of good quality, costing only from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per pair, others I know were good, costing from \$2.00 to \$2.50 per pair. One thousand extra shirts were sent to Keokuk to supply any deficiency that may have existed in that particular. Most of the material for pants was satinet and not of good quality, costing, as far as the same came under my observation, from 40 to 60 cents per yard by the quantity. The entire amount expended for Clothing, so far as I can give it from the data in my possession, is about \$12,000 or \$13,000, including the one thousand shirts above mentioned. If it be desirable in your judgment to have the Companies of this Regiment uniformed alike, it will be necessary to furnish all with coats of the same make, as also with pants, and to furnish an additional number of hats or caps. Hats were procured for all, but some preferred the cap and procured it, and the cost has been provided for. I cannot think that all the Companies need new shoes, as some of the shoes furnished were of excellent quality, and have not yet been worn more than two or three weeks.

I am satisfied it is requisite for the comfort of these troops, that many of them be furnished with pantaloons and shoes, and some of them with socks. As the Second and Third Regiments will be clothed throughout alike, it would, no doubt, be very gratifying to the First Regiment to be placed in the same position, and it will afford me much pleasure to carry out whatever may be your wishes in that regard.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 413, 415.

In response to this suggestion, the General Assembly by joint resolution authorized Governor Kirkwood to outfit the First Regiment in the same manner as the Second and Third Regiment were clothed. He telegraphed to Merrill, who was in Boston: "Furnish one thousand more, Pants, Coats, and Shoes, same as contracted for, at same prices". These outfits cost about fifteen dollars per man.<sup>69</sup>

The following picturesque account is given of the Governor's Greys when they donned their first uniforms:

They are admirable fits, all of them, except say eighty or a hundred . . . . A majority of the boys are able to get their pantaloons from the floor by buttoning the waistbands around their necks — others accomplish this desirable result by bringing the waistbands tight up under the arms and rolling them up six or eight inches at the bottom. To be sure this is a little inconvenient in some respects — a fellow has to take off his belts, then his coat, and then ascend one story before he can reach his pockets, and after reaching them they are so deep that one has to take the pants off entirely before he can reach the bottom. Each pocket will hold a shirt, a blanket and even the wearer himself if at any time he finds such a retreat necessary.

And the coats fit beautifully — almost in fact as well as the pants. To be sure half of them are two feet too large around the waist, and almost as much too small around the chest — but then these two drawbacks admirably offset each other. In the cases of fifteen or twenty of them the top of the collar is but a trifle above the small of the wearer's back, and in the cases of about as many more the same article is a few inches above the head of their owners. The same collar also in some cases terminates beneath each ear, and in many others it sweeps away around in a magnificent curve, forming a vast basin whose rim is yards distant from the neck of its possessor. And the sleeves, too, have here and there a fault — some are so tight under the arms that they lift one up as if he were swinging upon a couple of ropes that pass underneath his armpits — others strike boldly out and do not terminate their voluminous course till

<sup>69</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1861 (Extra Session)*, p. 35; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 421; *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 254.

at a distance of several inches beyond the tips of his fingers, while others conclude their journey after marching an inch or so below the elbows.<sup>70</sup>

Nevertheless, the work of the women was appreciated. The Governor's Greys adopted the following resolution:

HEAD-QUARTERS, G. GREYS, Co. I, 1ST REG. I. S. M.,  
VERANDAH HALL, KEOKUK, May 15, 1861

At a meeting of the company the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The matrons and maidens of Dubuque, fired with the same noble patriotism and enthusiasm as inspired those of '76, and emulating their noble example, have left their daily avocations of business or pleasure, to unite in aiding us to go forth properly accoutred to meet the enemies of our country; therefore

*Resolved*, That we appreciate with the liveliest emotions of gratitude that self-sacrificing patriotism which flowers indigenous in the breast of woman, and has prompted them to this act of kindness toward us.

*Resolved*, That the consciousness that we shall daily carry with us the smiles and the prayers, the hopes and the fears of so many lovely faces and warm hearts, will strengthen our rougher bosoms to endure with patience the hardships, and courage to meet boldly the dangers that may oppose us, while fighting the battles of our country.

*Resolved*, That these uniforms, into which so fair hands have woven so many and so kind wishes, will be an impenetrable webb to the entrance of traitors or cowardly thoughts and a sacred remembrance of those for whose protection we are fighting.

*Resolved*, That the coats shall be our *coats of arms*, that they shall never be *turn coats*, that they will always remind us of the *petti-coats*, and that while we wear the pants we shall always *pant* for honor, and hope to make the ladies *partici-pants* of that hour.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the Ladies' Volunteer Aid Association and to the daily papers of Dubuque.

F. J. HERRON, Capt. Co. I.

CHARLES N. CLARK, Clerk of Co. I.

<sup>70</sup> Wilkie's *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, pp. 21, 22.

Governor Kirkwood also appreciated the services of the women of the State, for he wrote the following letter to Dubuque:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Des Moines, Iowa,  
May 17th, 1861

*Mrs. A. Gillespie, Sec'y, &c., Dubuque, Iowa:*

DEAR MADAM:—Through the attention of D. N. Cooley, Esq., I am informed of the voluntary services rendered by yourself and other ladies of Dubuque, in fitting out the two companies of volunteers from your city.

I can not allow the occasion to pass without expressing my sincere thanks for this practical display of the patriotism of the ladies of Dubuque.

You have set a noble example in thus coming forward in the time of our need, and have shown us by this patriotic offering to the welfare of our gallant soldiers, that it needs, but the occasion to reproduce the heroines of '76. With the request that you will convey to each and every one of the ladies connected with you in this good work, my assurance, that your general assistance will be fully appreciated by the people of the State, I beg to subscribe myself, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.<sup>71</sup>

The women of Iowa rendered valuable service throughout the war in making havelocks, lint, bandages, towels, needle books, and various kinds of hospital stores for the soldiers. And, indeed, the uniforms made by the women fitted as well as many of the tailored uniforms. The suits furnished to the Twenty-second Regiment in September, 1862, "were most ridiculous misfits, some had to give their pants two or three rolls at the heels, others had shirts much too large which were, therefore, baggy, while others had to place paper in their hats so they would not slip down over

<sup>71</sup> *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, May 23, 1861; Wilkie's *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, p. 26; *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 142.

their ears." "Our blouses are somewhat abbreviated," was written of the clothing furnished to the hundred day men of 1864, "and our *gunboats*, as we call our shoes, make up the size which is lacking in our blouses — presenting a most comical appearance."<sup>72</sup>

#### BLANKETS FOR THE IOWA TROOPS

There was much actual suffering among the men of the early regiments because of lack of equipment. Great difficulty was encountered in securing blankets for the men. They could not be bought readily in the East and there was not a sufficient quantity on hand within the State. Many of the companies did not have enough blankets to go around, and one company of the Second Regiment had "*nary* blanket." Patriotic citizens donated blankets by the dozen, some of the companies being supplied before they left home for the place of rendezvous. In fact, in October, 1861, Adjutant General Baker published an order requesting all officers who were sending or bringing recruits to make known to their men the importance of bringing along at least one good blanket, comfort or quilt, for each volunteer. Captain D. B. Clarke's company marched clear across the State in December, 1861, from Council Bluffs to Keokuk with only such blankets as the citizens of their own community could supply to them. In one part of the State, a "little trouble was had by Mr. Allison in buying blankets with Iowa bonds, for use of the men so rapidly volunteering. . . . Adjt. Genl. Baker, sent him word to ask once more for blankets, and if not forthcoming, some troops would be sent at once to that part of Iowa, and 'the reason found out.' The blankets were soon bought now, in abun-

<sup>72</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, August 24, 1861; *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, April 25, July 4, 1861; *Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye*, June 25, 1861; Jones's *Reminiscences of the Twenty-second Iowa Volunteer Infantry*, pp. 8, 9; *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, June 7, 1864.

dance." In August, 1862, the Governor was still appealing for blankets. He requested ten thousand blankets from the War Department to equip the men coming into rendezvous. He could furnish fifteen regiments but had blankets for only five. "The weather grows cold," he said, "and our men suffer for want of clothing and blankets."<sup>73</sup>

The scarcity of equipment and the slowness with which the government acted were a drawback to the service. "It would much hasten matters", wrote Governor Kirkwood, "if clothing and equipments could be sent to deliver as companies are mustered in. The delay in furnishing these to other regiments discourages enlistments." In 1862 the lack of blankets made it impossible for the regiments to be in rendezvous at the appointed time. The First Iowa Regiment did not get army uniforms until after the term of enlistment expired and the men were on their way home. Some of the other States seemed to be treated better than Iowa. One of the men of the Seventh Regiment wrote home from Bird's Point in the fall of 1861 that "it makes quite a difference whether a regiment hails from Iowa or from Illinois. Shoulder strap officials recognize the difference between Hawkeyes and Suckers. It has been with difficulty that our claims at the Quartermaster's and pay department could be recognized until Illinois regiments had been attended to first."<sup>74</sup>

#### GENERAL CONDITION OF IOWA REGIMENTS

The first three regiments, when assembled at Keokuk, presented an appearance resembling a "crazyquilt". One

<sup>73</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), May 27, 1861; *The Dubuque Herald*, May 3, 9, 1861; *Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye*, August 14, 1861; *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, October 26, November 30, 1861; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, pp. 59, 60; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. II, pp. 400, 417, 658.

<sup>74</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 499, Vol. II, p. 486; O'Connor's *History of the First Regiment of Iowa Volunteers*, p. 13; *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, November 7, 1861.

company was uniformed in navy blue shirt and grey pants, another in grey jacket and black striped pants, while still another had "a dark blue coat, with green trimmings, light blue pants and fatigue caps of dark blue."<sup>75</sup> Other and better uniforms were contracted for by the State. Samuel Merrill of Clayton County took the contract for three thousand "full suits or uniforms, including shirts, drawers, shoes, caps and stockings",<sup>76</sup> and agreed to have them ready within thirty days from the date of contract, an agreement which he fulfilled. The manufacturer in Boston kept a force busy nights and Sundays in order to get them done in time. The uniforms for the Third Regiment were sent by express and reached their destination before the arrival of those for the First and Second Regiments, which were sent by freight. These uniforms would have been provided sooner, but Governor Kirkwood could not get a response from the War Department to the question of whether or not the State would be expected to furnish uniforms. As it was, some of the clothing made close connections. The First and Second Regiments had left Keokuk before their uniforms arrived; while the uniforms for the Third Regiment reached Keokuk the night before the men left for Hannibal, Missouri. It had been remarked that if

<sup>75</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), June 10, July 1, 1861.

<sup>76</sup> *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, July 4, 1861. The first contract entered into was for:

"2,000 Gray, all wool frock coats.

"2,000 Gray, all wool pants.

"2,000 Gray Felt hats.

"4,000 Gray, all wool flannel shirts.

"4,000 Gray, all wool flannel drawers.

"4,000 pairs all wool knit socks.

"2,000 pairs best army brogans.

"Being 1 hat, 1 coat, 1 pair pants, 2 shirts, 2 pairs drawers, 2 pairs socks and 1 pair shoes for each man, at the price of twenty-one dollars for each man" in the Second and Third regiments. Those for the First were ordered later.—Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 421.

the regiment left without their new clothing, "they could only rely on scaring the secessionists to death by their appearance."<sup>77</sup>

The Seventh Iowa left for the front before it received uniforms or equipment. This regiment drew no overcoats. Rubber blankets and ponchos were not furnished to the troops at that time, so the men used their gray woolen blankets for both raincoats and overcoats.<sup>78</sup>

There was, however, an occasional break in the monotonous record of delay. Army overcoats were distributed to the Second Regiment as early as September 27, 1861. The uniforms for the Twelfth Regiment were unloaded at Dubuque before the regiment left that city. Credit was given to William B. Allison "for obtaining the uniforms thus early." The members of the Nineteenth Regiment, when they left the State for St. Louis, were in possession of "superb equipments". The Twenty-second Iowa and the Thirtieth Iowa were speedily equipped upon their mobilization. The Forty-second Regiment received "overcoats, under-clothes, hats, feathers, shoes, bugles, small drums and other trimmings" before leaving Dubuque. At one period in the history of the Thirty-fourth Regiment the men were in such good condition and so well equipped that in a prize drill with five of the best companies in the division, this regiment stood first in some respects and second in the aggregate.<sup>79</sup>

When the equipment furnished by the Federal govern-

<sup>77</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), June 10, 24, July 1, 1861; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 221; *The Dubuque Herald*, July 3, 1861.

<sup>78</sup> Smith's *History of the Seventh Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>79</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), October 7, 1861; *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, October 17, 1861; *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), September 10, 1862; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 540; Barnett's *History of the Twenty-second Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry*, p. 1; *Dubuque Democratic Herald*, December 17, 1862; Clark's *The Thirty-fourth Iowa Regiment*, p. 19.

ment did arrive, there was often a lack of system in its delivery. "The clothing and camp and garrison equipage [of the Eighth Regiment] were distributed in the following generous manner: Being drawn by the regimental quartermaster, they were deposited in a pile on the parade ground, and each company commander directed to march his men to the place, where they were supplied. Company officers made no requisitions and the quartermaster took no receipts."<sup>80</sup>

Although clothing was so scarce, there were a few sacerdotes among the troops who would sell the clothing and equipments issued to them for whiskey and the like. In December, 1861, the Fifteenth Regiment was drawn up for inspection, and each man required to show all his "plunder", the object being to find out who were the culprits. Finally, the War Department issued an order prohibiting soldiers from selling or giving away clothing, arms, or equipments. Occasionally clothing was stolen from the soldiers.<sup>81</sup>

When the uniforms were issued in due season to a regiment, there was often a delinquency in some other respect. Thus, although the uniforms of the Second Regiment gave satisfaction, the knapsacks were so damaged that they had to be rejected. Perhaps the one situation which caused the greatest discomfort to the soldiers was the lack of shoes. At one time "only 25 men in Company H [First Regiment] were able to do camp duty for want of shoes. Arrangements were made by the Company last week for 82 pairs of shoes on their own account." "There is some neglect somewhere by somebody in furnishing the volunteers", was the

<sup>80</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 496.

<sup>81</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), December 16, 1861, January 20, 1862; *Anamosa Eureka*, November 20, 1863; *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, August 7, 1863.

bitter comment. "It is fortunate they enlisted in summer or the State and national government would let them freeze to death." The shoes that were issued were many times poor in quality. When the Second Regiment received shoes, one man testified that he "saw several of those men, that same day, with those same shoes on their feet, and holding in their hands the heels, which had already dropped off from them." Many members of the Fourth Regiment were in camp in Council Bluffs without shoes. Poor shoes and scant clothing helped to raise the mortality rate of the Twelfth Regiment.

Lack of shoes was a source of constant trouble throughout the period of the war. The long, hard marches soon wore out the shoes; and there was little chance of their being repaired or replaced. Many are the tales of tired and bleeding feet and footprints marked by blood. Many soldiers bound pieces of rawhide onto their feet. Several of the men of the Sixth Regiment marched with Sherman to Knoxville, barefooted. Gloves and mittens, too, were lacking. Captain Kittle's company [Fifteenth Regiment] appeared at dress parade "without gloves or mittens, even in the coldest days."<sup>82</sup>

#### BAGGAGE TRAINS

Despite the fact that equipment in general was scarce and difficult to obtain, the baggage wagons of some of the companies in the early days of the war would have rivalled the impedimenta trains which always accompanied the armies of Caesar. Before the war was over, however, the Iowa troops learned that heavy equipments were a hindrance rather than an aid. The size of the equipment trains

<sup>82</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), July 15, 1861; *The Dubuque Herald*, June 2, 1861, July 30, 1862; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, pp. 71, 72, 498, 522, 524, 592; *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, January 23, 1862; *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), December 16, 1861.

is suggested by the fact that at one time the Confederate forces captured thirty-five baggage wagons of the Twenty-first Iowa Regiment. Each company of the Eighth Regiment "was allowed two six-mule teams with three for regimental headquarters. . . . Tents, axes, hatchets and the knapsacks of the weak were piled into these wagons till they could hold no more." The Twelfth Regiment was outfitted with "a full supply of camp and garrison equipage, including Sibley tents, heavy mess chests, axes, spades, picks, with kettles and pans innumerable, and an immense wagon train consisting of twelve wagons, each drawn by six mules; two ambulances, each drawn by four horses." In fact, the regiment set out "with more baggage and a larger train than would have been allowed three years later for the whole 16th Army Corps". Without any doubt, "very little, if any, of the heavy camp and garrison equipage first set up by the regiment at Smithland survived the first summer campaign, if, indeed, any of it survived the battle of Shiloh."<sup>83</sup>

These immense trains of baggage were necessitated in part by the fact that such things as tents and mess chests, later furnished in individual sizes and carried by the men, were, at first, in a form which the men could not carry. Instead of individual mess kits there were company mess kits, containing tin plates, cups, spoons, knives, and forks for each man. Each chest contained the mess kits of sixteen men. But "the contents of the mess chest was soon divided up, each man carrying his own plate, cup, knife and spoon in his haversack with his rations".<sup>84</sup> The first tents, too, were of the Sibley pattern, invented by General Sibley

<sup>83</sup> *Dubuque Democratic Herald*, December 3, 1862; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 496; Reed's *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment*, pp. 11, 13.

<sup>84</sup> Reed's *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment*, pp. 12, 13.

and modeled after the Indian tepee. They were cone-shaped, about sixteen feet across at the base and supported by a pole in the center which had an iron tripod foot. The top of the pole supported an iron ring about one foot in diameter, to which the cloth of the tent was attached, thus leaving an opening one foot across at the apex of the tent for ventilation. Each tent accommodated sixteen men, who slept with their heads toward the outer edge of the tent. There was room in the center for a fire. But these tents were too heavy and unwieldy for active service, and soon gave place to the small wedge tent, which in turn was supplanted by the "shelter", or "pup" tent, just large enough for two men, and so arranged that each man could carry half a tent. When these tents were used it was not necessary to await the wagons before camp could be made.<sup>85</sup>

#### TRANSPORTATION OF TROOPS

Very different from the present-day mobilization of troops in the great concentration camps were the methods employed in transporting troops to, and caring for them in, the rendezvous camp of 1861 and 1862. It is true that the railways of the day offered to carry free all volunteer companies of troops whose services were accepted by the Governor, but the mileage of Iowa railroads in 1861 was very small, and most of the troops were compelled to march overland, or travel by stage at least a part of the way. Some companies, of course, were carried down the Mississippi River by boats. Regiments were raised by squads

<sup>85</sup> Reed's *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment*, pp. 12, 13. The Third Cavalry was provided with Sibley tents,—*Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), October 14, 1861—but the Sixth Cavalry was supplied "a small, inferior tent".—*Dubuque Democratic Herald*, March 25, 1863. Another style of tent was used by some of the regiments—the wedge tent.—Jones's *Reminiscences of the Thirty-second Iowa Volunteer Infantry*, p. 10.

The Sibley tents and the "pup" tents are the two most commonly used in army and militia camps at the present time.

and companies over the entire State, and those which marched to rendezvous, especially, underwent many hardships.<sup>86</sup> Scantly clothed, often without tents, and many of them barefooted, they tramped through mud and mire, stumbled over frozen clods, and slept without covering in the rain and sleet. A Des Moines company traveled overland to Council Bluffs in coaches of the Western Stagecoach Company at the price of \$4.00 a passenger.<sup>87</sup>

Those who were transported down the Mississippi River at times fared little better. Herded on to open barges, with snow falling, the wind sweeping down the river, and the temperature hovering about the freezing mark, the troops were chilled to the bone. One commander refused such transportation and marched his men back to camp until something better could be arranged. And yet Adjutant General Baker was very attentive to the care given Iowa troops. Even the smallest details were watched. A Mississippi River steamboat company carrying soldiers under contract wished also to take on freight. "Yes," telegraphed Baker, "*take the freight on if you wish to, but if you do, you take no Iowa soldiers.*" Some of the hardships endured on these mobilization marches and in the camps were almost as great as those suffered later in the field.<sup>88</sup>

#### TENTS AND BARRACKS

Tents were an absolute necessity to troops which were raised in all parts of the State. And yet many of the com-

<sup>86</sup> *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, April 25, 1861; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 43; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. II, p. 171.

<sup>87</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, July 20, 1861. At the very outset of the war, three companies of United States troops which had been ordered east from Fort Randall had to be transported across Iowa, via Des Moines and Davenport, "Owing to the fact that the management of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad, at the dictation of the people along the line of the road, refuses to transport them across Missouri".—*Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 4, 1861.

<sup>88</sup> Reed's *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment*, p. 9; Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 58.

panies did not have them. In the first months of the war tents could not be secured from Washington, but orders were given to get them wherever they could be found. As late as June 23, 1862, Adjutant General Baker wrote to Secretary Stanton that "tents are indispensable . . . . Let me have the tents [for the Eighteenth Regiment] immediately. Are they on the way?"<sup>89</sup>

Even upon arrival at the place of rendezvous the first few regiments were supplied only with tents. Indeed, they could not go into camp upon arrival, but were housed in empty halls, store buildings, and the like until tents were secured. The Governor's Greys of Dubuque upon their arrival in Keokuk were located in "the U. S. Court House", and the other companies were given quarters in a large brick building in the center of the town. The bunks were filled with clean straw and the quarters were very satisfactory; in fact more comfortable than those provided later in camp. For then seven men were squeezed into a small tent and no straw or hay was allowed to the men to lie on.<sup>90</sup>

Barracks were provided for later companies, although they were always very rough structures and not always snugly built. The lumber was furnished by the government; and the actual work of construction was often done by the troops themselves. Some of the barracks were constructed of pine lumber, others of logs, plastered in the interstices; some were shingled, while others were not; and some were heated, although most of them were not. The ordinary barrack was twenty by fifty feet in dimensions, and housed one company. There were some double barracks for two companies. They were built "without floors,

<sup>89</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), May 20, 1861; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. II, p. 171.

<sup>90</sup> Wilkie's *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, p. 16; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), May 27, 1861.

windows or chimnies", and "with two platforms, one above the other, each about twelve feet wide, extending the whole length of the building, each platform intended to give sleeping accommodations for fifty men, twenty-five on each side, heads together in the middle." Of the barracks for one regiment it was estimated that the expense of building was about two dollars per man.<sup>91</sup> There is evidence that later barracks were more comfortable. It was said that those erected for the Eighth Cavalry Regiment would "be superior to any that have heretofore been erected in this State. They will be built in the most substantial manner, and fitted with all the improvements for comfort and cleanliness which experience has suggested during the war." The barracks erected in 1863 at Camp McClellan for the conscripts were "made of bran new lumber, with excellent ventilation and comfortable bunks." The tables were put up in the open, and "consisted of a plank about a foot wide, and sixteen feet long, with stakes driven in the ground for legs".<sup>92</sup>

#### RATIONS AND FOOD SUPPLIES

The situation with regard to the rations dealt out to the Iowa troops was no different than that with respect to the other things furnished. Undoubtedly many of the companies received proper and sufficient food over considerable periods of time, but there were others who did not, and these latter instances, of course, have been emphasized. As a matter of fact, the army rations were fixed by law. "Twenty-two ounces of bread or flour, or one pound of hard bread . . . . fresh beef shall be issued . . . . when practicable, in place of salt meat; beans and rice or

<sup>91</sup> Sperry's *History of the 33d Iowa Infantry*, p. 2; Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry*, p. 34; Reed's *Campaigns and Battles of the Twelfth Regiment*, pp. 3, 4; *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, December 19, 1861.

<sup>92</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, July 31, December 8, 1863; Smith's *History of the Seventh Iowa Veteran Volunteer Infantry*, pp. 5, 6.

hominy . . . . and one pound of potatoes per man shall be issued at least three times a week, if practicable; and when these articles cannot be issued in these proportions, an equivalent in value shall be issued in some other proper food, and a ration of tea may be substituted for a ration of coffee".<sup>93</sup> In the Eighth Iowa Regiment the first issue of hard tack "nearly created insurrection." Later the men came to thank their stars that they had even hard tack and its companion ration—"sow bosom"—to eat. Many were the days when whole companies went without a bite to eat. "Nothing but beans one meal and a small piece of side-meat for the next" is a representative entry in the journals of many of the soldiers.

The first companies, while in rendezvous camps, were regaled with every kind of gustatory luxury in addition to substantial eatables. But in spite of this fact at times there was a scarcity of food, especially potatoes. Eggs were plenty and sold at six dozen for a quarter.<sup>94</sup> In 1862 and 1863 individuals and Soldiers' Aid Societies were kept busy supplying vegetables and other food supplies to the troops in the field and to the sick in the hospitals. The name of Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer stands at the head of the list of those active in this work. Early in 1863 she sent out an appeal for "potatoes, onions, corn-meal, dried fruit, eggs, butter, cheese, krout, cranberries, dried rusks, beer, ale, horseradish, pepper, spice, dried berries, pickles, ginger snaps, soda crackers, codfish, anything that will afford nutrition, or variety".<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 399.

<sup>94</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 496; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), June 10, 17, July 1, 1861; Wilkie's *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, p. 38; *Burlington Daily Hawk-Eye*, June 4, 1861; *The Dubuque Herald*, May 14, 1861.

<sup>95</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, September 8, 1863; *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 6, pp. 72, 73; *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), March 4, 1862.

Of one thing there seems to have been no lack among the early regiments: beer and other liquors were supplied by friendly citizens in great quantities. "The friends of all the companies are extremely liberal in one particular respect . . . and that is in sending in supplies of liquors", wrote Franc B. Wilkie in an account of the First Iowa Regiment. "Every express that comes in—every company that arrives, brings . . . a big supply of drinking materials. Half or more of the carts in Keokuk are constantly engaged in hauling these supplies into camp. They come in the shape of a ten gallon keg of whiskey—a 'choice bottle of old brandy' and a 'nice bottle of cocktail'—a couple of kegs of lager—in short, in all shapes, from all parts of the State".<sup>96</sup>

The regimental and company flags were quite uniformly gifts of the home communities, and very often were the handiwork of the women. Sometimes complimentary equipment and regimentals were also presented to the officers.<sup>97</sup>

#### EQUIPMENT OF CAVALRY REGIMENTS

Some of the cavalry regiments were unusually well equipped. The horses, arms, and accoutrements of the First Iowa Cavalry Regiment were said to be of "quite remarkable excellence". In December, 1861, the Third Iowa Cavalry was "the largest and best mounted body of men" at Benton Barracks. It contrasted very decidedly with the Third Michigan Cavalry. The latter was said to be "worse off in the matter of horses than Falstaff's regiment was for

<sup>96</sup> Wilkie's *The Iowa First: Letters from the War*, pp. 39, 40.

<sup>97</sup> *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. I, p. 135. Scot's *Story of the Thirty-second Iowa Infantry Volunteers*, p. 34; Barney's *Recollections of Field Service with the Twentieth Iowa Infantry Volunteers*, p. 19; Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry*, pp. 19, 21, 22; Pierce's *History of the Second Iowa Cavalry*, p. 11; *Dubuque Democratic Herald*, January 7, 1863; *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), June 10, 1861.

shirts; there's but one horse in the whole regiment, and that's a mule!"<sup>98</sup>

The big task was to secure horses that were acceptable. To some companies horses were furnished by the government; while to soldiers who owned their horses forty cents per day was paid for the use of their mounts. Cavalry horses were required to be fifteen hands and one inch high, and from five to nine years old. The Fourth Iowa Cavalry secured a full supply of remarkably good horses. They were purchased and examined under the personal supervision of Colonel Porter. He took especial pride in mounting his men. "He assigned the horses to the several companies in different colors. Many companies, of course, were mounted upon bays. The next highest number were on sorrels, and the next on browns. But Company A had grays, and Company K blacks . . . . The Regimental Band . . . . all rode fine large roans. There was a continued effort made during the early part of the service of the regiment to maintain this arrangement of the colors, fresh horses being distributed, as far as possible, in accordance with it; but the difficulty of obtaining horses steadily increased, and the maintenance of the colors became impracticable."<sup>99</sup>

During the early months of the war the cavalrymen carried an immense amount of equipment, as is shown in the following description:

Mounted upon his charger, in the midst of all the paraphernalia and adornments of war, a moving arsenal and military depot, he must have struck surprise, if not terror, into the minds of his enemies. Strapped and strung over his clothes, he carried a big

<sup>98</sup> *The Dubuque Weekly Times*, November 21, 1861; *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), December 16, 1861.

<sup>99</sup> Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry*, p. 31; *The Dubuque Herald*, July 21, August 6, 1861; *Anamosa Eureka*, October 31, 1862; Scott's *The Story of a Cavalry Regiment*, p. 22.

sabre and metal scabbard four feet long, an Austrian rifle or a heavy revolver, a box of cartridges, a box of percussion caps, a tin canteen for water, a haversack containing rations, a tin coffee-cup, and such other devices and traps as were recommended to his fancy as useful or beautiful. The weight of all this easily reached or exceeded twenty-five pounds. The army clothing was heavy, and, with the overcoat, must have been twenty pounds. So this man, intended especially for light and active service, carried on his body, in the early part of his career, a weight of nearly fifty pounds. When he was on foot he moved with a great clapping and clanking of his arms and accoutrements, and so constrained by the many bands crossing his body that any rapid motion was absurdly impossible. When he was mounted, his surrounding equipments were doubled in number, and his appearance became more ridiculous. His horse carried, fastened to the saddle, a pair of thick leather holsters with pistols, a pair of saddle-bags filled with the rider's extra clothing, toilet articles, and small belongings, a nose-bag, perhaps filled with corn, a heavy leather halter, an iron picket-pin with a long lariat or rope for tethering the horse, usually two horse-shoes with extra nails, a curry-comb and horse-brush, a set of gun-tools and materials for the care of arms, a rubber blanket or *poncho*, a pair of woollen blankets, a blouse, a cap or hat, and such other utensils and articles of clothing or decoration as the owner was pleased to keep. This mass of furniture, with the saddle, would weigh in most cases seventy pounds. So, in the first marches, the unfortunate horse was compelled to carry a burden ranging from two hundred to two hundred and fifty pounds. When the rider was in the saddle, begirt with all his magazine, it was easy to imagine him protected from any ordinary assault. His properties rose before and behind him like fortifications, and those strung over his shoulders covered well his flanks. To the uninitiated it was mystery how the rider got into the saddle; how he could rise to a sufficient height and how then descend upon the seat was the problem. The irreverent infantry said it was done with the aid of a derrick, or by first climbing to the top of a high fence or the fork of a tree.

It was perhaps due to the custom of carrying these complex incumbrances that the story became current among the rebels in the East, in the early part of the war, that the Yankee cavalrymen were strapped to their saddles to prevent their running away.

Yet some of the men were not content with the regulation load. They added a set of plate-armor to it. Among the scores of articles for various uses which were peddled in the camps within the first year of the war, was an "armored vest." It was a vest of blue cloth, cut in military style, with two plates of steel, formed to fit the body and fastened between the cloth and the lining, so as to cover the front of the wearer from the neck to the waist. Samples of the plates were exhibited in the camps, with deep marks upon them where bullets had failed to penetrate, a spectacle which, with the glib tongues of the dealers, induced a few of the officers and men to buy; and some of the horses, accordingly, had eight or ten pounds more to carry.

Not for long, however, did any of the horses bear these dreadful loads. The evident bad effect upon the horses, the care of so many articles, the fact that some of them were not used often enough to justify the trouble of keeping them, and the invaluable lesson steadily taught by experience, that only a few things are really *needed* by a soldier, presented a succession of reasons for diminishing the inventory. The few "armored vests" disappeared on the first march. The lariat was of little use, it often entangled the feet of horses and burned them, and, with its big picket-pin, it was "lost". The nose-bag was thrown away by many, and carried empty as much as possible by others. The rider's clothing was reduced to the least possible—a mere change of underclothing in addition to the garments worn. The hat was stripped of its trimmings, or disappeared entirely in favor of the cap. The pair of blankets was reduced to a single one. Of the small articles for toilet and other uses, only those absolutely necessary were retained. One horseshoe and four nails only were carried, unless there was an express order to carry more. If a curry-comb or brush disappeared, no matter,—one man with a comb and another with a brush had enough for two. Even the supply remaining according to this description was further reduced by many of the men. It became a fine art how to lessen the burden of the horse; and the best soldiers were those whose horses were packed so lightly that the carbine was the biggest part of the load. If it is a wonder in the first campaign how a cavalryman could get on to or move his horse when equipped for the field, the wonder afterward came to be, how a man could live with so meagre an equipment.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Scott's *The Story of a Cavalry Regiment*, pp. 26-29.

## CONCLUSION

The State of Iowa furnished its full quota of men for the northern armies during the Civil War. If these men were at times not promptly and properly equipped, if they were forced to undergo unnecessary hardships and privations, it was not due to lack of interest and endeavor on the part of the State authorities to see that the troops received proper care. Nor was there any lack of patriotism, loyalty, and sacrifice on the part of the citizens of Iowa who remained at home. Money, supplies, and personal services were generously given in order that the soldiers might have every possible comfort. The untiring labors of Governor Kirkwood in outfitting and caring for the Iowa soldiers, the incessant toil of Adjutant General Nathaniel B. Baker in looking after the welfare of "his boys", and the patriotism and loyalty of the men and women of the State make bright the pages of this period of Iowa history.

CYRIL B. UPHAM

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA  
IOWA CITY

## STATE FINANCES IN IOWA DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The ability of a Commonwealth to raise revenue depends upon certain well-known factors, the most important of which are: the character and number of the people; the purposes for which the money is to be expended and the attitude of the people toward those purposes; the resources of the State and their stage of development; available transportation facilities; banking facilities; and administrative organization, including the methods of collecting, accounting, and expending the funds raised.

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

At the outbreak of the Civil War Iowa was one of the frontier States. With an area of some fifty-six thousand square miles the State had a population of about 675,000 people, most of whom were farmers. The State was very thinly settled, but the population was increasing: from 192,214 in 1850, it had grown to 674,913 in 1860. There were only six cities of five thousand or more inhabitants in the whole State throughout the period of the war; and with the single exception of Iowa City these cities were all located on the Mississippi River.<sup>1</sup> In 1865 there were still eight counties in the State each of which had less than one hundred inhabitants; eighteen counties had less than five hundred inhabitants each; and twenty-four or nearly one-fourth of the total number of counties had less than one thousand inhabitants each.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census, 1836-1880*, pp. 424-610.

<sup>2</sup> *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census, 1836-1880*, pp. 424-610.

Iowa promised much, however, to the pioneer and immigrant seeking a home. The climate of the State was healthful, the lands were fertile, and many streams afforded natural highways to markets. Resources were here in abundance, but they were undeveloped. Settlers were coming every year in large numbers, but they had very little money. Land and coarse fare were plentiful, but capital and luxuries were scarce.

Moreover, the three years preceding the outbreak of the war had been years of trial for the Iowa farmer. The financial revulsion of 1857 reached its climax in Iowa in 1859. The crop of 1858 was very poor, due to the cold, wet season; and during the two following years the crops were below normal. The secretary of the State Agricultural Society wrote that "the general scarcity of money, connected with the fact that there is no European demand for our surplus products, has told fearfully upon the prices obtained by the producer; but, still he has *plenty*, and should be thankful that it is no worse."<sup>3</sup> In 1859 the secretary reported that the crushing weight of debt incurred during flush times had not been removed, but that it had become somewhat lightened, "not so much from the amount of products of the earth brought to market, nor from the price obtained for them, as from the vastly improved habits of economy learned and practised at home."<sup>4</sup>

Lack of transportation and communication facilities retarded the development of the State and strenuous efforts were made to secure railroads and telegraph lines. Agricultural produce brought low prices on account of the high charges for transportation to the distant markets. Wool-growing was encouraged, because wheat and corn would not bear the expense of taking to market. Capital was scarce,

<sup>3</sup> *Iowa State Agricultural Society Annual Report*, 1857, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Iowa State Agricultural Society Annual Report*, 1859, p. 5.

and little real money was in the hands of the people. Their habits and general condition and their attitude toward public affairs did not in any way tend toward the complete and careful organization so essential to the successful conduct of a war.

The people of the State, it is true, were producing great quantities of food stuffs; but the wagon roads were usually bad, railroads were just being constructed, and water transportation was slow. There was a total of only six hundred and thirty miles of railroad completed and in running order in the whole State of Iowa on March 1, 1862, and these roads extended westward from the Mississippi River towns only part way across the State. The people were begging for railroads and mortgaging their property in the effort to secure them. There was great rivalry to obtain the transportation facilities which were so vital to the interests of the various communities of the State; and newspapers and public meetings devoted almost as much space and enthusiasm to railroads as to the prospects of war.

Moreover, when at the very beginning of the war, the outlet for agricultural produce down the Mississippi River was cut off and the freight traffic of the river counties was directed over the railroads to Chicago and the East, both land and water communications were choked. Iowa farmers were practically without a market. Prices went down and freight rates went up; and the Iowa producers of food stuffs were at the mercy of the railroad lines which had had a monopoly thrust upon them.<sup>5</sup> Corn was burned for fuel. In such a situation there was little money with which to pay ordinary taxes. To pay extraordinary war taxes seemed impossible. "Our business operations have been interrupted," said Governor Kirkwood in his message of Janu-

<sup>5</sup> Fite's *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War*, pp. 42-77.

ary 15, 1862, "our markets have been closed, the prices of the products of our industry have been lessened, we have been compelled to wholly forego or materially to curtail the use of some luxuries which, by use, had become to us comforts of life, and these things must continue to be. They are the inevitable attendants of war, and must be borne as they have been borne, bravely, unflinchingly, and cheerfully." But, he added, "there is not in the world a people of equal numbers, all of whom enjoy today so many of the necessities and of the comforts of life as are enjoyed by our people. In our own State our cause of complaint is not that we have not enough of the necessities of life, but that we can not get high enough prices for what we can spare of our superabundance; not, that we have not food, but that we cannot sell to advantage food we do not need!"<sup>6</sup>

#### REVENUE LAWS AND STATE FINANCES

The financial situation in the State was more disheartening even than were general economic conditions. Taxes were burdensome and difficult to collect. The money situation was unfavorable: the State Bank with its several branches had just been established and the depreciated paper of the unregulated banks of neighboring States was in circulation throughout Iowa. The exchange value of this paper fluctuated from day to day, but it was difficult to drive it out of circulation and there was not enough good money available to take its place. A general lack of confidence permeated the whole atmosphere and business was depressed.

An examination of the financial provisions of the State Constitution is necessary to an understanding of the financial situation in the State at the outbreak of the war. The

<sup>6</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 306.

present Constitution of Iowa was ratified in August, 1857 — almost four years before the War of the Rebellion commenced. The convention was held and the Constitution drafted during a serious financial crisis, which disturbed the commercial and financial interests of the whole country. The first Constitution of Iowa, adopted in 1846, had guarded against excessive State expenditures for internal improvements. It had, moreover, prohibited banks of issue in Iowa. Since the surrounding States were not so restricted Iowa became a dumping-ground for the worthless paper of the unstable banks of Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska. The prohibition of banks so seriously crippled the commercial interests of the State that the demand for adequate banking and taxing laws led to the drafting and adoption of the new Constitution.

The financial provisions of the Constitution of 1857 fall into four categories — taxation, public debt, banking, and school funds. These provisions, with the exception of the one relating to school funds, were to have an important bearing on the problems of financing the war.

From the Constitution of 1846 the provision that "all laws of a general nature shall have a uniform operation"<sup>7</sup> was retained. It was further provided that "the General Assembly shall not pass local or special laws . . . . for the assessment and collection of taxes for State, County, or road purposes";<sup>8</sup> and it was declared that "the property of all corporations for pecuniary profit, shall be subject to taxation, the same as that of individuals."<sup>9</sup> Thus the Constitution provides that the rule of taxation shall be uniform, and that taxes shall be levied upon property in such manner as is prescribed by the legislature.

<sup>7</sup> *Constitution of Iowa, 1846, Art. I, Sec. 6; Constitution of Iowa, 1857, Art. I, Sec. 6.*

<sup>8</sup> *Constitution of Iowa, 1857, Art. III, Sec. 30.*

<sup>9</sup> *Constitution of Iowa, 1857, Art. VIII, Sec. 2.*

The natural development of the State had rendered banking facilities more and more a necessity. Consequently one of the most important questions before the constitutional convention of 1857 was that of banking. The need of a sound banking system was emphasized by the panic of 1857 with its widespread financial and commercial depression. Most of the western banks suspended specie payment and thousands of Iowa citizens lost heavily. It was not surprising then that the Constitution authorized the General Assembly, with the subsequent approval of the people, to establish both a State Bank with branches, founded upon an actual specie basis and the branches mutually liable for each other's issues, and a general free banking system carefully safeguarded.<sup>10</sup> At its session in 1858 the General Assembly authorized the establishment of a State Bank with branches and provided for the inauguration of a general banking system; and both laws were ratified by the people before the close of the same year.<sup>11</sup> Measures were soon taken to put the State Bank into operation. This institution, with its several branches — fifteen in all — played an important part in aiding the State with its finances during the most discouraging period of the war.

The Constitution of 1857 was very explicit in its provisions against: (1) the creation of a large or permanent State debt, (2) large indebtedness on the part of municipal corporations, and (3) the exploitation of the State or its treasury. It declares that "the credit of the State shall not, in any manner, be given or loaned to, or in aid of, any individual, association, or corporation" and that no money shall be paid out of the treasury except in pursuance of an appropriation made by law.<sup>12</sup> The power of a county or

<sup>10</sup> *Constitution of Iowa, 1857*, Art. VIII, Secs. 4-12.

<sup>11</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1858*, Chs. 87, 114; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 204.

<sup>12</sup> *Constitution of Iowa, 1857*, Art. VII, Sec. 1, Art. III, Sec. 24.

other political or municipal corporation to contract debts is limited to an amount in the aggregate not exceeding five per cent of the value of the taxable property within the county or municipal corporation.<sup>13</sup> This provision seemed to be necessary in 1857, owing to the fact that in their great anxiety to procure the construction of works of internal improvement many counties and cities of the State had adopted the policy of creating large municipal debts for the purpose of becoming stockholders in railroads and other private corporations.<sup>14</sup> In his message to the General Assembly on December 2, 1856, Governor Grimes stated that the amount of such indebtedness voted by the different cities and counties at that time exceeded seven millions of dollars. On account of the liability of abuse, the Governor recommended that the power of cities and counties to incur indebtedness be limited.<sup>15</sup>

The Constitution stipulates that the State may contract debts for the purpose of defraying extraordinary expense, but the aggregate amount of such debts shall never exceed two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.<sup>16</sup> Debts to any amount may be contracted for the purpose of repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection, or defending the State in time of war; but the money borrowed for such purposes shall be applied exclusively for those purposes or for the repayment of the debts.<sup>17</sup> With the above exception, the

<sup>13</sup> *Constitution of Iowa*, 1857, Art. XI, Sec. 3.

<sup>14</sup> The Supreme Court of the State later decided that inasmuch as the credit of the State could not be loaned to private corporations the General Assembly had no power to authorize the cities and counties of the State to lend their credit and to become stockholders in private corporations.—See *Stokes v. The County of Scott*, 10 Iowa 166; and *State of Iowa, ex rel. The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company v. The County of Wapello*, 13 Iowa 388.

<sup>15</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 37, 38.

<sup>16</sup> *Constitution of Iowa*, 1857, Art. VII, Sec. 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Constitution of Iowa*, 1857, Art. VII, Sec. 4.

incurring of every debt must be authorized by law and the purpose of the debt must be distinctly specified in the law. Every law authorizing a debt must provide for the levying of an annual tax sufficient to pay the interest as it falls due, and to pay and discharge the principal within twenty years from the time the debt was contracted. The proceeds of such taxes must, moreover, be specifically applied to the payment of such debt and principal. Nor can the levy be repealed or the taxes be postponed until the principal and the interest have been paid in full. A law contracting a debt shall not take effect until it has been published and distributed, submitted to a vote of the people, and ratified by them.<sup>18</sup>

These provisions are explicit and there is no doubt of their wisdom. It was, however, through misunderstanding or misinterpretation of these provisions that the State bond issue failed at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. It was declared by certain factions, both within and without the State, that the law authorizing the sale of State bonds was clearly unconstitutional, first, because the State already had an indebtedness as great as the Constitution allowed; and second, because it was impossible to show that the State was in danger of invasion or insurrection. The opponents of the loan claimed that it was to enable the State to fulfill its constitutional obligations to the Federal government that the loan was needed. Outsiders gave the State credit a bad name by declaring that cities and counties all over the State had barefacedly repudiated their honest debts; and that the people, the legislature, and courts were all working together to avoid paying their honest obligations.

In the matter of accounting and administration the Constitution specifies that an accurate statement of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published

<sup>18</sup> *Constitution of Iowa, 1857, Art. VII, Secs. 5-7.*

with the laws at every regular session of the General Assembly.<sup>19</sup> It also stipulates that no money shall be drawn from the treasury except in consequence of appropriations made by law.<sup>20</sup>

With the outbreak of the war Iowa was called upon to furnish and equip troops for Federal service and also to defend the borders of the State. The situation demanded more revenue. Consequently loans had to be made and it was necessary to impose additional and heavier taxes. The finances of the State were not on a very firm basis, as has been seen, nor was the system of taxation especially well adapted to the efficient handling of the situation. The general property tax was in use almost exclusively. The administrative system was decentralized and the law was laxly enforced. The State was every year sustaining a large loss on account of delinquent taxes, and it was with the greatest difficulty that returns could be secured from the different counties. It was estimated that there was a loss to the counties and to the State of from ten to fifty per cent on account of delinquent and unpaid taxes — the amount being measured by the large depreciation of county and State warrants.<sup>21</sup> The finances of the State were depressed as a result of the panic of 1857 and the subsequent poor crops, and the payment of the taxes necessary to the support of the government was felt as a burden by the people. Economy and retrenchment were everywhere demanded.<sup>22</sup>

In his first inaugural message, delivered to the General Assembly on January 11, 1860, Governor Kirkwood recommended a careful examination of the State revenue system

<sup>19</sup> *Constitution of Iowa*, 1857, Art. III, Sec. 18.

<sup>20</sup> *Constitution of Iowa*, 1857, Art. III, Sec. 24.

<sup>21</sup> Brindley's *History of Taxation in Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 52.

<sup>22</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 235.

with a view to making it more dependable and efficient. He complained of a vagueness in the laws which tended to introduce among officials a laxity of morals highly dangerous to the public interest, and added that "any system of revenue which permits large amounts of taxes to become delinquent and to be ultimately lost to the State, must be defective, and must operate unjustly and unfairly upon our people. The deficiencies thus created in the revenue must be provided for by additional taxation upon those who have already discharged their duty as citizens, by paying the taxes assessed upon them, and they are thus compelled to bear more than their due proportion of the public burden. The laws should provide for the most rigid and exact accountability of all officers charged with the collection, control or disbursement of the public money."<sup>23</sup>

As the law stood at the beginning of the war, the board of supervisors of each county of the State levied annually the following taxes upon the assessed value of the taxable property in the county: for State revenue one and one-half mills on the dollar when no rate was directed by the Census Board, but in no case in excess of two mills on the dollar; for ordinary county revenue, including the support of the poor, not more than four mills on the dollar, and a poll tax of fifty cents; for the support of the schools, not less than one nor more than two mills on the dollar; for the bridge fund, not more than one mill on the dollar, whenever the board of supervisors thought such a levy necessary. Normally the board of supervisors acted as a board of equalization for the county and the Census Board as a board of equalization for the State. Property was assessed by elective township assessors and taxes were collected by the county treasurers, who forwarded the State's portion to the

<sup>23</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 234.

**State Treasurer.** Heavy penalties were imposed for delinquency in the payment of taxes. Property was freely sold to satisfy taxes and tax deeds were given to the purchasers.<sup>24</sup> Taxes were not paid promptly, however, and the State Auditor in his report for 1861 declared that "the aggregate amount of delinquent taxes is yearly increasing". He suggested that the penalty be increased and a uniform system of accounts be established.<sup>25</sup> Each county was held responsible to the State for the full amount of the tax levied for State purposes.<sup>26</sup> Auditor's warrants were receivable in payment of State taxes and county warrants were receivable in the proper county in payment of ordinary county taxes. Money only was receivable for school taxes.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to the fact that the tax system was decentralized, the accounting systems in the offices of the State Treasurer and State Auditor were unscientific, to say the least. A commission composed of John A. Kasson, J. M. Griffith, and Thomas Seely, appointed in 1858, to investigate the several State offices reported to the Governor in 1859 that the system of bookkeeping in the Treasurer's office was unsatisfactory. "The whole general revenue account is kept by a single book," it was said, "used for the first and only entries, showing in primary form, as on ordinary journal or blotter, the receipts and payments. There is no checking account whatever, no posting, no ledger."<sup>28</sup> The Treasurer's bank pass book showed an account between the bankers and the Treasurer in his private capacity only. There

<sup>24</sup> *Revision of 1860*, Ch. 45.

For a complete discussion of the State tax system at the beginning of the war see Brindley's *History of Taxation in Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 45-70.

<sup>25</sup> *Report of the State Auditor*, 1861, p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> *Revision of 1860*, Sec. 793.

<sup>27</sup> *Revision of 1860*, Sec. 754.

<sup>28</sup> *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Investigate the Several State Offices*, p. 35, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1859-1860.

were no separate accounts and it was found impossible to determine the amounts received from the various sources.

In regard to the Auditor's office the commission reported that "there has been no mode of transaction of the business of this office, that can be justly called *a system*, since its establishment. There are in former years, debits without credits, and credits without debits, and accounts without balances, and books of memoranda, rather than books of account."<sup>29</sup>

The commissioners made definite recommendations relative to the improvement of the accounting system used in these offices, but no action was taken by the General Assembly; and no noticeable improvement is to be found in the reports of the officers until after the close of the Civil War. It has not been possible, for instance, to get from these reports a statement showing the amounts of State revenue derived from the various sources. The reports do not designate in detail or by class the various sources of revenue, but merely list receipts as received during the quarter for State revenue. The various sources are designated for the first time in the reports for 1867.

The people of the State were without a supply of ready money at the beginning of the war; and it was with much difficulty and great delay that the taxes were collected. In his message of January 11, 1860, Governor Kirkwood deplored the fact that such a large amount of taxes was left unpaid. The Auditor also stated that the penalty for the non-payment of taxes was not sufficiently heavy and should be raised. Governor Kirkwood discussed the revenue situation more fully in his first biennial message of January 15, 1862. After referring to the economy practiced by the State during the first year of the war he spoke of the un-

<sup>29</sup> *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Investigate the Several State Offices*, p. 81, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1859-1860.

healthy condition of the finances due largely to delinquent taxes. He pointed out the fact that the Auditor's reports showed that there were, on November 4, 1861, unpaid and delinquent State taxes to the amount of nearly \$400,000 — an amount more than sufficient to cover the entire expenses of the State government for one year. Moreover, this large delinquency had accumulated within a very few years. The same Auditor's report shows that there were at the same date State warrants, unpaid for want of funds, amounting to \$103,645, most of which were drawing interest at eight per cent.<sup>30</sup>

Because of the above facts the Governor declared that the following conclusions were inevitable: (1) that during the previous four years there had been levied a State tax larger by about \$300,000 than the necessities of the State required; (2) that this tax levy was rendered necessary by the fact that only a portion of the people paid the taxes due the State; (3) that the State had been compelled to pay annually large sums by way of interest on warrants, which need not have been paid had the taxes been collected promptly and the treasury kept supplied with funds to meet all demands upon it; (4) the State, being compelled to purchase its supplies with warrants, was obliged to pay higher prices than if it had the cash to pay; and (5) the taxpaying portion of the people had thus been compelled to pay not only their own proper share of the public burdens, but also the share of those who did not pay their taxes, increased by interest and high prices.<sup>31</sup>

The entire section of the Governor's message relating to revenue and taxation constituted an able treatment of the subject. He stated that in his judgment the leading features

<sup>30</sup> *Report of the State Auditor*, 1861, p. 12; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 265.

<sup>31</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 265, 266.

of a good revenue law were: (1) the imposition of penalties of such weight for the non-payment of taxes as to make it without question the best interest of every taxpayer to pay promptly; and (2) the assurance to the purchaser of property sold for taxes of a valid title at the expiration of a definite period. Both of these suggestions aimed at greater effectiveness in the collection of taxes.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, the Governor recommended, "in order to make the revenue of the State more certain", that the county treasurers be required by law to pay the State Treasurer certain proportions of the amount of revenue due to the State at fixed times until the entire sum for each year was paid, whether the county treasurers had collected the entire amount of the State taxes or not. "At present the State is wholly helpless as to its revenue", said the Governor. "It has to depend wholly upon the officers of Counties for its collection and transmission, and if the county officers are inefficient, the State is remedyless. Each county is now liable by law to the State for the amount of State tax assessed in it, but this liability, without any means of making it practically effective, is useless. If the Counties were required to pay the revenue due the State, whether collected or not, the County Supervisors would be stimulated to require of the Treasurer a strict performance of his duties".<sup>33</sup>

The fact that much depreciated paper money in the form of bank-notes was in circulation and that specie was very hard to obtain made the collection of taxes more difficult, since only specie or State warrants were receivable for State taxes, and only specie, State warrants, or proper county warrants were receivable for county taxes. And it is of interest to note that in spite of the fact that taxes were

<sup>32</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 266.

<sup>33</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 271.

increased during the war, the reports show no appreciable increase in the amount of delinquent taxes. As a matter of fact, the proportion of delinquent taxes to the total amount of taxes collected was measurably decreased. [See Table I.] That many people could not pay their taxes is attested, however, by the long lists of real property advertised to be sold for delinquent taxes and published in the county papers, with the names of the owners and an announcement of the date at which the sale was to be held.<sup>34</sup> These descriptions frequently filled whole pages of the county papers. In fact, it is said that newspapers were frequently established for the sole purpose of sharing in the lucrative official county printing.

The following table shows the amount of State taxes received from the several counties, and the amount of delinquent taxes due to the State from the several counties for the years including the war period.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Iowa City Republican*, November 11, 1863, and September 28, 1864. *The Anamosa Eureka* in its issue of September 6, 1861, contained the following editorial: "THE TAX LIST.—This annual nuisance on which half the papers in the State rely to keep their heads above water, and which after the first week becomes as stale as a dead herring is published today".

The rates for the publication of the notices of delinquent taxes in newspapers were cut in half by Ch. 24 of the *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861.

<sup>35</sup> Table I is compiled from the State Auditors' reports.

The amount given under the heading "State taxes received from the several counties" in Table I includes besides the ordinary State revenue and the insane dues from counties and interest on delinquent taxes, small sums received from the sale of laws and from peddlers' licenses prior to 1869.

The amount of delinquent taxes is the sum of the delinquent taxes due the State at the date of the report and includes the unpaid taxes for all prior years which have not been struck off the books as unavailable. For example, the *Report of the State Auditor* for 1861 shows that the delinquencies for the period ending on November 4, 1861, included the following unpaid and overdue taxes:

Delinquent taxes of 1857 and previous years.....	\$ 31,311.39
Delinquent tax of 1858.....	27,441.52
Delinquent tax of 1859.....	30,524.56
Delinquent tax of 1860.....	68,178.78
Delinquent tax of 1861.....	134,892.96
Total.....	\$392,349.21

TABLE I

FOR THE BIENNIAL FISCAL PERIOD ENDING	AMOUNT OF STATE TAXES RECEIVED FROM THE SEVERAL COUNTIES	AMOUNT OF STATE TAXES DUE FROM THE SEVERAL COUNTIES
Nov. 7, 1859	\$ 513,189.79	\$293,122.10
Nov. 4, 1861	578,759.91	392,349.21
Nov. 2, 1863	861,260.66	325,062.95
Nov. 4, 1865	881,808.10	339,743.39
Nov. 2, 1867	1,028,591.24	436,436.57
Oct. 30, 1869	1,277,494.42	531,920.38
Nov. 4, 1871	1,525,062.42	457,249.46

The Auditor estimated in 1861 that about twenty per cent of the delinquent taxes would be unavailable.

Notwithstanding the losses and delays due to delinquent taxes the finances of the State took on a healthier tone under the pressure of war. State and county officers performed their duties more effectively, the people paid their taxes more readily and could pay more easily on account of successive good crops and high prices for produce. That the curse of unpaid taxes bore heavily upon the State government at the outbreak of the war, however, is shown in the following appeal addressed by the Governor to the people of the State on June 11, 1861:

I earnestly appeal to the property-holders of the State to aid in the prompt payment of delinquent taxes. We have Men, brave and true, in superabundance. There is Money due the State Treasury sufficient to meet the present legal demand upon the General Fund

Not long after Governor Kirkwood had delivered his message in January, 1862, calling upon the people of the State to pay their taxes promptly he received the following letter from the treasurer of Johnson County, dated Feb. 12, 1862: "Permit me to say a word about your delinquent taxes in this county. Mr. Sperry sold a portion of it last fall for the Taxes, and now there are plenty of purchasers for the balance. They consider *a good joke* on you to urge in your inaugural the prompt payment of taxes, and at the same time leave your own unpaid. No doubt but in the vast amount of your duties you have forgotten it, or supposed they were paid."—*Kirkwood Correspondence*, No. 459.

for Civil and Military purposes, and pay off a large portion of the State indebtedness; but while a sum exceeding \$400,000 of former levies is in arrears, the Executive Department of the State is rendered Comparatively powerless, and the military service subjected to extreme embarrassments. Will the patriotic masses of Iowa in their individual capacity see to it that this barrier to effective military service, shall be as speedily as possible removed?<sup>36</sup>

In order to illustrate the status of county finances in Iowa during the war period the following data from a report of the county board of supervisors of one of the leading counties of the State—Johnson County—is here presented.<sup>37</sup> This data includes the amount of taxes levied in Johnson County for the years 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, with the amount collected in each year, and amount still delinquent on May 31, 1863:

#### STATE TAX

YEAR	LEVIED	COLLECTED	DELINQUENT
1858	\$ 8,014.86	\$ 7,386.54	\$ 628.32
1859	7,255.73	6,646.30	609.43
1860	6,891.84	6,444.25	447.59
1861	9,024.70	7,720.77	1,303.93
1862	8,381.05	6,412.75	1,968.20
	—————	—————	—————
	\$39,568.18	\$34,610.61	\$ 4,957.57

#### COUNTY TAX

1858	\$ 33,952.50	\$ 31,977.97	\$ 1,974.53
1859	31,037.41	29,045.19	1,992.22
1860	20,505.79	18,940.42	1,565.37
1861	19,902.39	16,699.57	3,202.82
1862	19,000.42	13,976.96	5,023.46
	—————	—————	—————
	\$124,398.51	\$112,640.11	\$13,758.40

<sup>36</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 473.

<sup>37</sup> *Iowa City Republican*, June 17, 1863.

SCHOOL TAX			
YEAR	LEVIED	COLLECTED	DELINQUENT
1858	\$ 5,301.02	\$ 4,082.64	\$ 218.38
1859	4,835.95	4,613.07	222.88
1860	4,579.14	4,325.52	253.62
1861	4,520.67	3,835.39	685.28
1862	4,205.30	3,209.72	995.58
	—————	—————	—————
	\$23,442.08	\$21,066.34	\$ 2,375.74
COUNTY ROAD TAX			
1858	\$ 8,375.38	\$ 7,106.20	\$ 1,269.18
1859	7,572.14	6,229.16	1,342.98
	—————	—————	—————
	\$15,948.02	\$13,335.36	\$ 4,612.16
RAIL ROAD TAX			
1858	\$10,664.97	\$10,224.98	\$ 440.19
1859	4,839.58	4,605.51	234.07
1860	4,581.83	4,315.20	266.63
1861	4,511.37	3,808.56	702.81
	—————	—————	—————
	\$24,597.65	\$22,954.25	\$ 1,643.70
BRIDGE TAX			
1858	\$10,670.44	\$10,231.59	\$ 438.85
TOWNSHIP TAX			
1859-1860	\$ 3,490.85	\$ 3,456.21	\$ 34.64
1861	1,777.17	1,699.70	77.47
1862	3,393.70	1,632.31	1,761.39
	—————	—————	—————
	\$ 8,666.72	\$ 6,788.22	\$ 1,873.50
POOR HOUSE TAX			
1861	\$ 2,258.78	\$ 1,917.77	\$ 341.01
INTEREST ON BOND TAX			
1861	\$ 2,259.97	\$ 1,920.75	\$ 339.22
1862	1,582.17	1,206.48	375.69
	—————	—————	—————
	\$ 3,842.14	\$ 3,127.23	\$ 714.91

## MCKEE JUDGMENT TAX

1861	\$ 3,384.35	\$ 2,883.43	\$ 500.92
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## WAR FUND

1861	\$ 3,384.36	\$ 2,883.74	\$ 500.62
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## LYONS IOWA CENTRAL RAIL ROAD FUND

1860	\$10,094.36	\$ 7,978.87	\$ 2,115.49
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## FEDERAL TAX

1861	\$ 9,024.70	\$ 7,490.40	\$ 1,534.30
------	-------------	-------------	-------------

## RELIEF TAX

1862	\$ 4,208.30	\$ 3,203.16	\$ 1,005.14
------	-------------	-------------	-------------

## BOUNTY TAX

1862	\$52,564.85	\$40,097.71	\$12,467.14
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## INSANE HOSPITAL TAX

1862	\$ 1,047.63	\$ 802.53	\$ 245.10
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The exhibit shows a total levy for all purposes of \$337,101.07

A total collection of..... 292,011.32

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Total delinquent ..... \$ 45,089.75

This statement indicates also some of the funds for which local taxes were being levied. It indicates, moreover, that in Johnson County the proportion of delinquent taxes to the total levy was high — approximately fifteen per cent. For 1862 alone the delinquent taxes amounted to approximately one-fourth of the total levy.

## IOWA FINANCES AT BEGINNING OF WAR

It would be difficult to imagine a Commonwealth less prepared for war than was Iowa at the outbreak of the Civil War. The resources of the State were undeveloped. The State was thinly populated. Political feeling ran high and the sentiment of the people was divided: many people thought that a compromise could be effected; and nearly all of them failed to realize the seriousness of the situation.

Transportation and communication facilities were slow and entirely inadequate to meet the need for quick service. Economic conditions generally were unfavorable; prices were poor. The newly established State Bank, with its several branches, was improving the money and credit situation, but it had not fully established itself in the confidence of the people. In fact, the transactions of some of the branches had been questionable. The taxing system of the State was not well adapted to cope with extraordinary demands; payments were slow and there was a constant loss from delinquent and unpaid taxes. The financial administration was not well organized, while the accounting system was loose and inefficient.

The militia of the State was unorganized and absolutely no preparation had been made for war. When the call for troops came there was not a single unit of the regular army within the borders of Iowa. There were neither forts nor garrisons — not a single military post was located within the State.<sup>38</sup> Neither were arms or equipment of any kind available and there were no funds in the treasury. Moreover, in the actual preparation for war the lack of telegraph lines and railroads in the interior of the State caused much delay in the transmission of orders and the movement of troops. The fact that no railroad or telegraph line was built to the capital city of Des Moines until a year after the close of the war indicates something of the difficulties to be overcome in prosecuting a war under the conditions which then existed.

Such was the situation in Iowa when on April 16, 1861, the Secretary of War called upon Governor Kirkwood to furnish troops for immediate service. Upon receipt of this call the Governor issued a proclamation to the people of the

<sup>38</sup> Briggs's *The Enlistment of Iowa Troops during the Civil War* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XV, pp. 324-330.

State calling upon the militia to form volunteer companies in the different counties with a view of entering the active military service of the United States. He also wrote to the Secretary of War for information relative to the probable number of troops to be called from Iowa, and the terms upon which volunteers were to be mustered into the service of the United States. At the same time he assured the administration of the loyalty of Iowa.<sup>39</sup>

The Governor acted upon the assumption that the State would pay all the expenses connected with the raising of troops until they were mustered into the service of the United States and that the Federal government would arm and equip them.<sup>40</sup> Since the General Assembly met only once in two years and had adjourned early in 1860 there was no legislative authority authorizing the expenditure of funds. Nevertheless, the Governor postponed convening the General Assembly in extra session until there was some realization of the seriousness of the situation confronting the Federal government and the loyal States. He did not wish to incur the expense of an extra session unless it was absolutely necessary and it was made unnecessary for a time through the action of the branches of the State Bank in placing funds at his disposal.<sup>41</sup>

Governor Kirkwood soon realized, however, that conditions would demand action requiring legislative sanction and on April 25th he issued a proclamation convening the General Assembly to meet in extra session on May 15, 1861.<sup>42</sup> "For the Union as our Fathers framed it, and for the Government they founded so wisely and so well," said

<sup>39</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 468; *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 74.

<sup>40</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 87.

<sup>41</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 87.

<sup>42</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 470.

the Governor in his special session message, "the people of Iowa are ready to pledge every fighting man in the State, and every dollar of her money and credit; and I have called you together in Extraordinary Session for the purpose of enabling them to make that pledge formal and effective."<sup>43</sup>

In reverting to the action he had already taken, the Governor said that at the outset he had met two difficulties: first, there were no funds under his control to meet the necessary expenses; and, second, there was no efficient military law under which to operate. The banks placed the necessary funds at his disposal and the patriotic response of the people removed or made less serious the second difficulty. In this way the requirements had so far been met. The Governor recommended that steps be taken to protect the State against invasion and that preparation be made to supply promptly any further aid needed by the Federal government. He specifically asked for the enactment of a military law authorizing, among other things, the formation of a military staff to aid him in raising, arming, equipping, and supporting the troops required to be raised by the State. Furthermore, he declared that it would be necessary to use the credit of the State to raise the funds with which to meet the extraordinary expense incurred and to be incurred, and that the General Assembly had the power "under that provision of the constitution which authorizes without a vote of the people the contracting of a debt 'to repel invasion', 'or to defend the State in War.' "

"I feel assured", continued the Governor, "the State can readily raise the means necessary to place her in a position consistent alike with her honor and her safety. Her territory of great extent and unsurpassed fertility, inviting and constantly receiving a desirable emigration, her population

<sup>43</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 253.

of near three quarters of a million of intelligent, industrious, energetic and liberty-loving people, her rapid past and prospective growth, her present financial condition, having a debt of only about one quarter of a million of dollars unite to make her bonds among the most desirable investments that our country affords.

"The people of Iowa, your constituents and mine, remembering that money is the sinews of war, will consider alike criminal a mistaken parsimony which stops short of doing whatever is necessary for the honor and safety of the State, and a wild extravagance which would unnecessarily squander the public treasure."<sup>44</sup>

#### WAR LEGISLATION

The war demanded a more energetic and capable administration of State finances than had previously existed. At the same time it demanded a greater willingness to impose and pay taxes. The demand was met with serious determination and with a ready response, and the financial administration was fairly efficient throughout the war period.

The State had heretofore conducted its necessary business on a comparatively small amount of money. For the biennial fiscal period ending on November 7, 1859, the ordinary expenditures of the State government had amounted to only \$366,198.57; and the extraordinary expenditures for the same period amounted to \$212,157.45 — making an aggregate of only \$578,356.02 expended by the State in the two years.<sup>45</sup> Money was scarce and a small amount to be paid in taxes was felt as a burden by the majority of the people of the State.

<sup>44</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 256-259.

<sup>45</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 140.

When the war became a reality the State accepted its share of the burden without question. The General Assembly wasted no time while convened in special session in the summer of 1861, but strove to provide ways and means whereby the State's part in the war could be economically and efficiently performed. Provision was made whereby the maximum tax levy for State purposes could be increased from two to two and one-half mills on a dollar. County treasurers were authorized to collect delinquent taxes by the sale of the property upon which the taxes were levied.<sup>46</sup> The Governor was empowered to purchase munitions of war and was provided with a contingent fund from which to defray extraordinary expenses.<sup>47</sup> A State war loan of \$800,000 was authorized; and provision was made for the reorganization of the State militia.<sup>48</sup>

A special fund was created — known as the "War and Defense Fund" — from which were to be paid all of the expenses incurred, by the State or its representatives, for the purpose of aiding the United States government in putting down the rebellion. Into this fund were to be placed the proceeds to be derived from the proposed sale of State bonds. This fund was kept separate and was not subject to the ordinary or general warrants of the State Auditor, but only to warrants issued for debts created for the purposes specified.<sup>49</sup>

In order to further safeguard the State provision was made for a board of commissioners whose duty it was to audit all accounts and claims against the war and defense fund. No military claims of any character were to be paid unless they were submitted to this board and examined and

<sup>46</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Ch. 24.

<sup>47</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Chs. 4, 20.

<sup>48</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Chs. 16, 17, 18.

<sup>49</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Ch. 16, Secs. 3, 5.

allowed by it. No accounts were to be allowed unless they were proved to be valid before the auditing commissioners in the same manner and form as the validity of accounts was established in the courts of the State and according to the same rules of evidence.<sup>50</sup>

The State derived practically all its revenue from the general property tax, the levy for State purposes being determined by the Census Board and added to the levies made by the several counties. The counties collected the State tax with their own, and the county treasurers then sent it to the State Treasurer. This dependence upon the efficiency of the county collections made the amount of State revenue uncertain and increased the difficulty of preventing loss through delinquencies. As a matter of fact, few changes were made in the taxing system during the war. A more insistent demand upon the counties did, however, result in better collections and, partly as war measures, the railroads of the State were taxed one per cent of their gross receipts, and the penalties on delinquent taxes were increased.<sup>51</sup>

Reference has already been made to Governor Kirkwood's able statement of the revenue situation and his recommendations concerning the action which he thought should be taken in regard to it. In addition to his suggestions looking toward improvement in the collection of taxes — which were enacted into law — he presented a program of economies to be followed in the appropriations for State institutions. His program was accepted and the State thereby saved, for the time being, approximately \$175,000 during the first two years of the war.<sup>52</sup>

Intimately connected with the subject of taxation and

<sup>50</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Ch. 10.

<sup>51</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1862, Ch. 173, Secs. 16–20.

<sup>52</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 270.

revenue during the war period was the question of the kind of money to be received in payment for taxes. At the outbreak of the war specie only was receivable. Shortly after the war began, however, the Federal government and the banks throughout the country were forced to suspend specie payments. Hence it became apparent that the State would be unable to collect its revenue in coin. As a result there was a demand that such changes be made in the law as would permit the payment of taxes in United States treasury notes and the notes of the State Bank of Iowa. The branches of the State Bank were required to redeem their circulation in coin at all times, and it was thought that to allow taxes to be paid in notes of the State Bank of Iowa would make payments more easy and more certain and at the same time aid to some extent in keeping up the circulation of the State Bank. The State Bank notes were declared to be honest representatives of specie. They should, therefore, be received in payment of taxes.<sup>53</sup>

In compliance with what appeared to be a popular demand, the General Assembly, in 1862, authorized the receipt of United States treasury notes and the notes issued by the several branches of the State Bank of Iowa in payment of county and State taxes and other dues. Notes of the State Bank were not to be received, however, in case any one of the branches suspended specie payments. Moreover, these provisions were to remain in operation only until January 31, 1864.<sup>54</sup> Practically the same law was re-

<sup>53</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 274.

"It must be manifest to all," declared the *Iowa State Register*, "that if our taxes shall be promptly paid, some other currency than gold must be provided, and in authorizing its own bank issues to take the place, measurably, of specie, Iowa would only follow the example which the General Government has been compelled to inaugurate."—*Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 5, 1862.

<sup>54</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1862, Ch. 17.

enacted in 1864. National bank notes were made receivable for taxes; and as in the former law county treasurers were directed to pay the specie received by them into the State treasury and not attempt to dispose of it.<sup>55</sup> Provision was also made in 1862 whereby county treasurers were authorized to receive State Auditor's warrants on the war and defense fund in payment of State and Federal taxes.<sup>56</sup> A law was enacted in 1864 which prohibited the circulation of foreign bank notes in this State;<sup>57</sup> and an attempt was made in 1862 to enact a State income tax law, but such a measure failed to find favor in the legislature.<sup>58</sup> After the suspension of specie payments became general the financial transactions of the State were made in United States notes and State Auditor's warrants drawn upon the general revenue fund or the war and defense fund of the State.

In 1861 the Federal government enacted a law providing for a direct annual tax of twenty millions of dollars to be apportioned among the several States. Iowa's share of this tax was \$452,088. Provision was made whereby the States could collect their portion of the tax themselves or they could leave it to the Federal government to collect. In case the States collected the tax a discount of fifteen per cent was allowed for collection if completed prior to a certain date. It was provided, moreover, that the tax could be satisfied by the release of bona fide claims which the States held against the Federal government.<sup>59</sup> There was little newspaper comment regarding the Federal tax in Iowa newspapers; and the first act passed by the Ninth General Assembly provided for the assumption and collection of this

<sup>55</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, Ch. 43.

<sup>56</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1862, Ch. 21.

<sup>57</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, Ch. 53.

<sup>58</sup> See *House Journal and Senate Journal*, 1862, House File No. 155.

<sup>59</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, Ch. 45, Secs. 8, 53, p. 292.

direct tax.<sup>60</sup> A levy of two mills upon the dollar for the purpose of satisfying the tax was laid on the valuation of 1861. County treasurers were directed to collect the tax with other taxes, but to keep a separate account stating the amounts collected. The Governor was authorized and directed to adjust with the Federal government the claims which this State had against it and apply the amount of the claims toward paying Iowa's quota of the Federal tax. The money derived from this tax was turned into the war and defense fund and used to pay the war and defense warrants.<sup>61</sup> Congress repealed the law authorizing this tax in 1864, after only one annual tax had been levied under its provisions.<sup>62</sup>

#### REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES

It has been shown that the finances of the State were not on as firm a basis as could have been desired when the war opened. The taxing system was decentralized, a large portion of the State's revenue was difficult to collect, the administration of the finances was inefficient, and good money was scarce. In addition to these conditions, crops had been poor and prices for farm produce were unremunerative. It appeared that the State could provide men for the armies more easily than it could provide the means to equip them for service. Under these circumstances the financial burden of the war threatened to bear heavily upon the people of the State. This burden did not, however, prove to be as onerous as the people feared. The drain of men from the farms, on the other hand, occasioned a very serious loss; between 1861 and 1865 Iowa sent more than 76,000 men into the Union armies.<sup>63</sup> This number comprised more than

<sup>60</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1862, Ch. 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1862, Ch. 19; *Laws of Iowa*, 1862, Ch. 173, Sec. 1.

<sup>62</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XIII, Ch. 173, Sec. 173, p. 304.

<sup>63</sup> *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa*, 1866, pp. 457, 469.

one-tenth of the total population of the State and more than one-half of the total number of men of military age in the State.<sup>64</sup>

The actual amount of money expended by the State government for war purposes during the several years of the war was comparatively small. As indicated by the amounts of warrants issued against the war and defense fund the expenditures were as follows:<sup>65</sup>

From May, 1861, to November 4, 1861.....	\$233,568.43
From November 5, 1861, to November 2, 1863, inclusive	639,163.85
From November 3, 1863, to November 4, 1865, inclusive	169,231.00
From November 5, 1865, to November 2, 1867, inclusive	7,084.61
<hr/>	
Total.....	\$1,049,047.89

Of this sum \$277,320 was raised by means of loans which were still outstanding at the end of the war; \$365,407.33 constituted the receipts of the Federal direct tax; \$100,000 was received from the Federal government as a refund to the State for expenditures incurred in equipping troops for Federal service; and the sum of \$9058.24 was received from miscellaneous sources. The total amount of money paid into the war and defense fund thus amounted to only \$751,775.57, which was less than the amount of the warrants issued against the fund by \$297,272.32. An amount sufficient to cover this deficit was transferred from the general revenue fund, inasmuch as there was a large surplus of State revenue; and by using this revenue, which was made possible by a law authorizing the transfer, the interest on the war and defense warrants was saved to the State.<sup>66</sup>

It has been noticed that the amount expended by the

<sup>64</sup> *Census of Iowa, 1865*, pp. 156, 157; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, Vol. I, p. xvii.

<sup>65</sup> *Report of the State Auditor, 1872*, p. 61.

<sup>66</sup> Compiled from the State Auditors' reports, 1861-1871; *Laws of Iowa, 1864*, Ch. 61.

State government for war purposes was small—only a little more than one dollar per capita. This was due to several causes. In the first place, the State was unable to borrow money; secondly, since money could not be obtained the expense of preparing the Iowa troops for the field was of necessity, to a large extent, borne by the Federal government; and, thirdly, the State made no provision for the payment of bounties or for the relief of soldiers and their families out of State funds, but authorized the counties and cities of the State to levy taxes for these purposes.

When the General Assembly convened in extra session on May 15, 1861, as has been seen, Governor Kirkwood recommended among other things that provision be made to secure a State loan and for the State support of the dependent families of volunteers.<sup>67</sup> After much wrangling over the question as to whether a State loan would be constitutional or not and many attempts to compromise on the size of the loan that should be authorized, an act was passed “to provide for the issue and sale of State Bonds to procure a loan of money for the State of Iowa, to enable it to repel invasion and defend itself in war”.<sup>68</sup> The law authorized the issue and sale of bonds in an amount not exceeding \$800,000, payable in twenty years, with interest at the rate of seven per cent, payable semi-annually.

The money arising from the sale of these bonds was to be paid into the war and defense fund and be used exclusively in paying expenses incurred in preparing Iowa troops for Federal service “or such other purposes as are or may become necessary or incident to the repelling of an invasion or the defense of the State in war”. The faith of the State

<sup>67</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 261.

<sup>68</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Ch. 16; *House Journal and Senate Journal* (Extra Session), 1861.

was pledged to provide adequate means to pay the interest on the bonds and the principal when it should become due. The bonds and interest were exempted from State taxation.<sup>69</sup>

The act named a board of commissioners whose duty it was to determine the amount of bonds, out of the total amount authorized, that should be sold. Furthermore, the State Treasurer and one agent named in the act were appointed as agents to negotiate the loan. Sales were to be made for specie, payable upon the delivery of the bonds.<sup>70</sup> The law was carefully drawn and all the means necessary for the successful negotiation of the loan seemed to have been provided. Since the State's debt was small and its resources were great, and the interest on its bonds greater than that on the bonds of many of the other northern States, it was thought that there would be no difficulty in finding purchasers for the bonds.

The Board of Bond Commissioners met on June 13, 1861, and authorized the sale of State bonds to the amount of \$400,000. The loan was advertised at home and abroad and all preparations were made to receive bids in New York City.<sup>71</sup> About two weeks before the Iowa bonds were to be placed on sale, however, the financial editor of the *New York Herald* started a campaign to ruin the State's credit and to make the bond sale a failure. In successive articles the financial columns of the *Herald* attacked the Iowa war loan.<sup>72</sup>

It was argued, first, that the law authorizing the loan was unconstitutional and that it was pure fiction on the

<sup>69</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Ch. 16, Secs. 3, 4.

<sup>70</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Ch. 16, Secs. 2, 5, 6, 8.

<sup>71</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 474.

<sup>72</sup> See the *New York Daily Herald*, June 24, 29, July 2, 9, 10, 11, August 3, 1861.

part of the State to say the loan was made to enable the people of Iowa to repel invasion or defend themselves in war. In the second place, it was said that all the important towns and counties of the State, with one or two exceptions, had repudiated their honest debts, and that the people of the State had no conception of the meaning of honesty and integrity. These attacks continued up to the day when the bids for the Iowa war loan were to be opened. The result was that the bonds could not be sold except at ruinous figures. Rather than submit to such loss the agents came back to Iowa without having sold the bonds.

Governor Kirkwood at once issued a stirring appeal to the people of the State to buy State bonds, pointing out to them the desperate straits of the State.<sup>73</sup> The appeal was copied widely by the newspapers of the State and a regular campaign was carried on to sell the bonds at home. In spite of the appeals to the people, however, few of the bonds were sold. Some were exchanged for evidences of indebtedness, but little real money was secured. The receipts from the sale of State bonds from the time they were offered for sale in July, 1861, until the close of the fiscal period on November 4, 1861, amounted to only \$81,268, and war and defense warrants had been issued in the amount of \$233,568.43.<sup>74</sup> Efforts were made with some success to exchange State bonds for necessary equipment for the troops and money was derived from other sources. The Federal government paid into the State treasury \$100,000 in United States treasury notes as a refund, the Federal direct tax was being paid by the counties, and collections of general revenue were unusually good.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 478-482.

<sup>74</sup> *Report of the State Treasurer*, 1861, p. 8; *Report of the State Auditor*, 1861, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>75</sup> *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1; *Report of the State Auditor*, 1861, pp. 5-8, 14; *Report of the State Auditor*, 1863, pp. 4-10, 15.

Moreover, the Federal government decided to pay the State troops from the time when they were accepted by the Governor until the day when they were mustered into the service of the Federal government, as well as for the period of their actual service — a decision which decreased the demands upon the war and defense fund.<sup>76</sup> Nor did the State attempt to provide clothing and arms for any of the Iowa troops except the first three regiments. The State Treasurer continued to exchange bonds for State warrants and for war and defense warrants and to sell bonds for cash when occasion offered, but no active campaign for the sale of bonds was carried on after the first year. Up until August 30, 1862, State bonds to the amount of \$300,000 were disposed of, the receipts for which amounted to \$277,320.<sup>77</sup> It appears that the bonds were then withdrawn from sale, for no further sales were made although many inquiries and offers were received by the State Treasurer in regard to them. The strain on the war and defense fund having been removed, conditions rapidly improved so that further sale of bonds became unnecessary.

In the second place, after the first shock of the war, the Federal government succeeded in effecting an organization that could produce results in providing supplies of all kinds needed for the equipment of troops, and the individual States were relieved of this burden, largely because the Federal government could provide for the needs of the new soldiers more efficiently and economically. In Iowa, moreover, after the first three regiments were equipped, arms, clothing, and other necessities needed by the soldiers but not produced by the people of the State could not be obtained without money, and so could not be obtained at all.

<sup>76</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, Ch. XVI, p. 274.

<sup>77</sup> *Report of the State Auditor*, November 4, 1861, p. 14, November 2, 1863, pp. 6-10.

Consequently the Federal government supplied the necessary equipment. Nor can it be said that the people of the State were opposed to having this work done by the Federal government. Soon after Congress passed the law of 1861 providing for the refund to the States of expenses incurred by them in support of the Federal government, one of the leading newspapers of the State quoted the act and added:

We presume that in view of the foregoing Act of Congress it will not be necessary for the States in their individuality to incur any further expenses in raising and equipping volunteers, nor will it be necessary nor expedient to negotiate State bonds for war purposes, the Government taking upon itself the whole burden.<sup>78</sup>

It has been noted that most of the war expenditures were incurred during the early part of the war, when the State was compelled, in order to facilitate the military operations of the Federal government, to defray a large portion of the expenses incurred in enlisting, transporting, subsisting, quartering, and paying the volunteer forces organized in the State. During the latter part of the war the cost to the State of organizing four regiments and one battalion of troops did not exceed one thousand dollars. This was largely due to the fact that Governor Stone refused to defray the expenses out of the State treasury and so they were paid by the disbursing officers of the general government.<sup>79</sup>

In the third place, the State provided no bounty for enlistments and no relief for the dependent families of volunteers. In his message to the General Assembly convened in special session in 1861, Governor Kirkwood spoke of the prompt action taken by county boards of supervisors and

<sup>78</sup> *Dubuque Weekly Herald*, August 14, 1861.

<sup>79</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 32, 33.

public spirited citizens in raising means for the support of dependent families of volunteers. He praised the work which had been done, but feared that it would be partial and unequal in its operation. "It is scarcely to be presumed", he said, "that companies will be received from all the counties of the State, or equally from those counties from which they may be received, and it seems to me much more equitable and just that this expense be borne by the State, and the burden thus equally distributed among our people."<sup>80</sup> The General Assembly refused, however, to provide State funds for either bounties or relief. On the other hand, county boards of supervisors were empowered to make appropriations for the support of the dependent families of volunteers in 1861, but no further action was taken at that time.<sup>81</sup>

Counties took it upon themselves to levy taxes for both bounties and relief. In 1862 the General Assembly legalized such action as had been taken by the counties without authority of law, and in addition authorized counties to make levies for these purposes. No limit was set to the amount which counties might levy, but it was specified that the levies so made should be kept apart as separate funds and be used only for the purposes for which the money was raised.<sup>82</sup> Again, in 1864, when it was evident that the dependents of the volunteers from some counties were well provided for, while those of other counties were suffering from want, the General Assembly directed by law that in the years 1864 and 1865 there should be levied in each county in the State not less than two mills on the dollar on all the taxable property in each county. The receipts from

<sup>80</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 261.

<sup>81</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Ch. 23.

<sup>82</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1862, Ch. 30.

this tax were to constitute a separate fund known as "The Relief Fund", which was to be expended under the direction of the county boards of supervisors for the relief of the dependent families of soldiers and marines in the service of the United States.<sup>83</sup>

The amounts levied by the several counties for bounties and for the relief of the dependent families of soldiers were as follows:<sup>84</sup>

YEAR	FOR BOUNTIES <sup>85</sup>	FOR RELIEF <sup>86</sup>
1861		\$ 3,384.36
1862	\$ 273,046.40	
1863	188,133.07	
1864	291,054.50	604,607.78
1865	186,200.51	487,863.16
1866	135,466.86	26,392.46
	\$1,083,901.34	\$1,122,247.76

It will be noticed that these sums raised by the counties of the State for the payment of bounties and relief amount to more than twice the total amount raised by the State for its war and defense fund. According to the records of the War Department the total cost of bounties in Iowa during the war was \$1,615,171.20. This sum included the amounts raised by counties, by cities, and by private contributions.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, Ch. 89.

Chapter 25 of the *Laws of Iowa*, 1866, authorized county boards of supervisors to transfer the relief fund, when not needed for the relief of the dependent families of soldiers, to any other fund. And, in counties where the relief fund was inadequate to meet the demands upon it, boards of supervisors were authorized to levy a tax of not more than one mill on the taxable property of the county for the years 1866 and 1867.

<sup>84</sup> Compiled from the reports of the several county clerks to the State Auditor in compliance with section 748 of the *Revision of 1860*.

<sup>85</sup> In 1862 and 1863 the levy for relief was in some instances included in the report of bounties.

<sup>86</sup> Johnson County was the only county to report a levy for soldiers' relief in 1861.

<sup>87</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. V, pp. 748, 749.

The sources from which the war and defense fund was derived have been indicated. The purposes for which it could be expended were specified in the act creating the fund: it was to be used for the purchase of arms and the munitions of war; for defraying the expenses incurred in calling out troops or organizing, uniforming, equipping, subsisting, and paying them, and for such other purposes as might become necessary or incident to repelling invasion or defending the State in war.<sup>88</sup> After the first three regiments had been fully equipped for service it became evident that the State could not secure clothing and arms for all the troops and so this equipment was left for the Federal government to supply. The greater part of the expense incurred by the State during the war seems to have been for the transportation and subsistence of the Iowa troops before they were mustered into the service of the United States government. Nothing new or exceptional was done in the administration of the State's war expenses. The State did what was necessary and under the circumstances probably all that was possible. There were charges of extravagance and waste and charges of parsimony and picayunishness, but economy and honesty were apparently the guiding principles in the administration of the war and defense fund.

The State legislature was very economical in its appropriations during the war period and the State tax levy remained the same throughout the war as it had been in 1860 — two mills on the dollar. The rate was raised to two and one-half mills in 1866 in order to provide funds with which to pay the debt contracted in 1858. But collections were better and funds for State purposes were plentiful after the first year of the war. For the eight fiscal years beginning on November 4, 1859, and ending on November 2, 1867, the

<sup>88</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Ch. 16, Sec. 3.

total amount of receipts exceeded the total expenditures by a very comfortable margin and the State's finances were on a much better basis at the close of the war than they had been when it commenced.

The following table shows the receipts and expenditures of the State for war and defense and general revenue purposes during the eight fiscal years commencing on November 4, 1859, and ending on November 2, 1867.<sup>89</sup>

TABLE II  
RECEIPTS

	GENERAL REVENUE	WAR AND DEFENSE FUND
For two fiscal years		
ending November 2, 1861,	\$ 578,759.91	\$ 161,268.00
November 2, 1863,	866,816.62	527,352.15
November 4, 1865,	881,808.10	55,264.90
November 2, 1867,	1,068,175.38	7,890.52
	—————	—————
Total,	\$3,395,560.01	\$ 751,775.57

EXPENDITURES

For two fiscal years		
ending November 2, 1861,	\$ 599,825.19	\$ 233,568.43
November 2, 1863,	610,607.82	639,163.85
November 4, 1865,	728,922.16	169,231.00
November 2, 1867,	1,009,356.98	7,084.61
	—————	—————
Total,	\$2,948,712.15	\$1,049,047.89

The following table contains a combined statement of the war and defense and general revenue funds for the eight fiscal years commencing on November 4, 1859, and ending on November 2, 1867:

<sup>89</sup> *Report of the State Auditor, 1872*, pp. 61, 62.

By Chapter 68 of the *Laws of Iowa*, 1866, the war and defense fund was merged with the general revenue fund.

TABLE III

BIENNIAL FISCAL PERIOD ENDING	TOTAL RECEIPTS	TOTAL EXPENDITURES	DEFICIT	SURPLUS
November 2, 1861	\$ 740,027.91	\$ 833,393.62	\$93,365.71	
November 2, 1863	1,394,168.77	1,249,771.67		\$144,397.10
November 4, 1865	937,073.00	898,153.16		38,919.84
November 2, 1867	1,076,065.90	1,016,441.59		59,624.31
Totals....	\$4,147,335.58	3,997,760.04	\$93,365.71	\$242,941.25
Total amount of Receipts over Expenditures, \$149,575.54				

In regard to the sources from which the general revenue was derived during the war period little need be said. By far the greater part of the revenue was derived from the general property tax of two mills levied for State purposes, collected by the county treasurers, and returned to the State treasury. Little definite information can be presented in regard to the revenue derived from other sources. The reports of the State Auditor and State Treasurer did not, at that time, designate in detail or by class the various sources of revenue received by them, but merely indicated the receipts as the "amount received during the quarter for State revenue". The different sources of State revenue were designated for the first time in the reports for 1867. Other revenue in the general fund came from the tax for the care of the insane collected by the counties, from peddlers' licenses, from the sale of laws, from the interest on delinquent taxes, and from the fees paid to the Secretary of State, the Auditor of State, and the Agent of the State Land Office. After the war and defense fund was merged into the general revenue fund in 1866, the sums of money which were refunded to the State by the Federal government on account of war claims were paid into the general fund.

Table IV has been prepared in order to show as accurately as possible the purposes for which the State revenue was expended during the war period, as well as to show the

TABLE IV<sup>90</sup>  
EXPENDITURES BY BIENNIAL PERIODS FOR THE TWELVE FISCAL YEARS FROM NOVEMBER, 1859, TO NOVEMBER, 1871

	1859-1861	1861-1863	1863-1865	1865-1867	1867-1869	1869-1871
The General Assembly.....	\$ 80,245.12	\$ 73,660.59	\$ 68,006.09	\$ 98,265.84	\$ 110,186.34	\$ 134,343.25
State officers, salaries.....	20,890.03	20,140.44	21,256.00	23,708.31	37,894.22	46,449.54
State officers, contingent fund.....	9,358.88	9,699.86	11,923.80	10,778.66	4,302.40	7,954.74
The State Judiciary						
Salary of judges.....	46,656.55	45,336.02	45,851.44	50,621.72	85,058.25	143,944.35
Pay of district attorneys.....	17,867.26	15,343.24	14,761.51	13,600.00	13,950.00	14,098.67
Contingent fund.....	3,514.43	2,651.27	2,940.46	3,418.59	5,145.38	7,928.22
Reports of the Supreme Court.....	9,673.40	3,740.25	7,920.00	13,520.00	12,785.00	14,230.00
Total for State Officers and Judiciary.....	188,405.67	170,571.67	172,659.30	213,913.12	269,321.59	368,948.77
Publishing laws in newspapers.....	2,417.42	1,012.85	1,002.85	26,442.65	47,226.49	65,034.13
Printing .....	14,755.41	23,100.30	26,397.52	24,507.97	23,521.74	24,573.48
Binding .....	9,400.86	11,853.55	17,869.39	29,065.10	17,403.38	17,035.19
Stationery .....	11,741.35	14,486.69	29,232.46	36,274.02	44,273.99	33,956.54
Total for State Printing and Stationery.....	38,315.04	50,453.37	74,502.22	116,289.74	132,425.60	140,599.34
Expenditures for Support of State Institutions <sup>91</sup>						
Salaries at Penitentiary.....	15,076.61	17,044.56	18,789.75	19,531.41	27,519.78	31,613.28
Penitentiary at Ft. Madison.....	55,418.46	15,314.92	19,061.00	14,962.00	3,234.90	1,827.59
State University .....			1,116.10	1,062.00	1,332.00	37,071.55
Agricultural College.....	3,620.92	5,142.78	3,848.44	3,934.32	5,173.33	4,489.00
College for Blind.....	13,825.00	15,500.00	18,910.00	25,604.25	28,096.08	44,824.74
Deaf and Dumb Asylum.....	15,000.00	15,600.00	22,145.00	21,100.00	33,100.66	39,763.74
Hospital for Insane at Mt. Pleasant.....	6,569.30	51,549.48	101,052.51	128,971.75	156,845.55	195,018.11
Reform School.....	5,686.27				5,233.60	23,245.60
Hospital for Insane at Independence.....						22,784.36
Soldiers' Orphans' Home.....						196,736.34
Total Support of State Institutions.....	115,196.56	120,151.74	184,922.80	319,526.61	457,272.24	595,017.97
Public Improvements (Buildings at Institutions), Tuition for State Institutions (including Boarding-schools)	95,514.14 20,071.00 1,694,604.45	39,512.71 2,701,543.20 1,243,768.33	85,620.40 163,603.50 1,423,130.11	354,195.55 811,167.79 1,243,130.11	644,446.44 1,243,130.11 1,243,130.11	193,380.00 595,017.97 1,243,130.11
Wife and Domestic Dependents						403.66

War and Defense.....	233,568.43	169,231.00	12,564.80	12,564.80
Extraordinary Expense Executive Department.....	8,770.63	18,631.25	29,092.12	4,207.35
Adj. Gen. and Quartermaster Gen. Department.....		8,394.30	17,764.11	42,157.50
Interest on War and Defense Bonds.....		36,577.52	42,188.90	42,000.00
Other Military Expenses <sup>92</sup> .....	1,674.25	16,955.11	18,800.66	904.50
General Contingent Fund.....	8,365.52	5,894.57	6,504.47	13,056.58
Total War Expenses.....	252,378.83	725,616.60	283,581.26	90,289.70
Interest on the School Fund.....	54,197.17	27,371.87	19,209.57	18,298.20
Interest on bonds of 1858.....	6,938.75	28,280.00	28,140.00	28,172.21
Interest on warrants.....	18,066.78	13,881.91	1,831.86	110.46
County Agricultural Societies.....		11,747.85	12,811.00	14,056.45
Geological Survey.....	1,637.75	3,684.00	3,208.00	10,000.00
Swamp Land Selections.....	160.50	4,850.00	6,250.00	7,702.35
Teachers' Institutes.....	3,400.00	358.35	818.00	6,650.00
Arrest of Fugitives.....	594.60	5,976.14	5,133.23	4,351.92
Mileage to County Treasurers.....	6,326.69	3,022.12	939.19	4,574.87
Capital at Des Moines.		1,271.60	1,374.00	1,439.00
To the State Bank.....		1,271.60	1,439.00	148.00
Janitor and Night Watch, State House.....	1,354.75	1,491.50	1,947.00	3,226.00
Banks for remitting revenue.....	885.45	492.59	606.65	5,136.00
Special appropriations.....	8,907.80	37,756.49	6,096.58	5,500.00
Immigration .....	3,175.00	700.00		6,300.00
Miscellaneous <sup>93</sup> .....	34,210.38	3,483.44	5,177.12	5,455.77
<b>Grand Total of State Expenses.....</b>	<b>\$833,786.66</b>	<b>\$1,248,593.42</b>	<b>\$897,015.42</b>	<b>\$1,007,516.98</b>
				<b>\$1,566,394.08</b>
				<b>\$1,972,998.21</b>

<sup>90</sup> Table IV was adapted from a manuscript table showing the State expenditures in tabular form for the twenty fiscal years 1857 to 1877 — State Archives, Miscellaneous Reports, 1854-1900, Governor's Office.

This table includes only expenditures made from the general revenue and war and defense funds. The totals agree only approximately with those given in the *Reports of the State Treasurer*.

<sup>91</sup> The item entitled "Support of State Institutions" includes expenditures made for the maintenance of the institutions named but does not include the expenditures for buildings and permanent improvements.

<sup>92</sup> The item entitled "Other Military Expenses" includes the expenses of the Adjutant General's office in 1859-1861 amounting to \$400; the expenses incurred in the protection of the northwestern frontier; and the expenses incurred in taking the army vote.

<sup>93</sup> The item entitled "Miscellaneous" includes for 1859-1861 the expenses incurred by the commissioners appointed to examine State offices in 1858; the expenses of taking the census; the expenses of making the abstract of land entries; the expenses of the commissioners to revise the Code; the expenses of publishing the *Revision of 1860* and distributing the laws; and the expenses of the Board of Education.

comparative amounts expended for the different purposes. It is interesting to note that the expenditures for the administrative, legislative, and judicial departments of the State government actually decreased during the war only to increase rapidly at its close. The expenditure for the support and maintenance of the State educational and eleemosynary institutions was maintained, but the building program was suspended. The outlay for public improvements of all kinds was curtailed as a matter of economy. But as soon as the war closed expenditure for buildings and improvements increased very rapidly. The amount expended by the State for the general purposes indicated reached a sum for the fiscal period ending November 1, 1869, greater by three hundred thousand dollars than the largest amount spent in any fiscal period during the war.

#### STATE AND LOCAL TAXATION

There is usually a tendency, if taxes are high, for the people to blame the State government, whereas excessive taxation is more frequently due to tax levies by counties and municipalities than to levies made by the State. Local extravagance was widely prevalent in Iowa during the early years of its history. And during the years just preceding the Civil War constant complaints were made against excessive taxation. Extravagant expenditures were made and burdensome debts were contracted by the cities and counties of the State for the purpose of aiding railroads. The need for transportation facilities was great. Railroad companies gladly exchanged their stocks for county or city bonds or secured a grant of aid as a free gift. Excessive taxes were thus levied to pay these bonds, and it was natural that complaints of exorbitant taxation should be heard. In 1856 Governor Grimes recommended that a limit be placed upon the amount of debt that could be con-

tracted by a municipality. His reason for making this suggestion was that many of the counties and cities of the State had adopted the very doubtful policy of creating municipal debts for the purpose of becoming stockholders in railroads and other private corporations. In fact, the municipal indebtedness already voted by the different cities and counties was in excess of seven millions of dollars.<sup>94</sup>

In 1861 the maximum levies that could be made upon the taxable property in the State were: for State purposes two and one-half mills on the dollar; for general county purposes, four mills and a poll tax of fifty cents; for school purposes, two mills; for the bridge fund, one mill; and for township road purposes, three mills.<sup>95</sup>

Counties and cities were expressly prohibited by law from levying taxes to aid in the construction of privately controlled works of internal improvements, and their previous levies and loans for the benefit of railroad companies were held by the courts to be unconstitutional.<sup>96</sup> Counties and cities were at a later date permitted to vote aid to railroad companies, but were not allowed to become stockholders in such companies. In 1861, according to the newspapers of that day, Davenport had a municipal debt of \$386,961, which the *Davenport Gazette* claimed was not one-third the debt of Dubuque or Keokuk. The indebtedness of Muscatine was said to be \$85.63 greater than the city's total assets. Davenport claimed, however, that it always paid the interest on its debt promptly.<sup>97</sup> All the indications are that the

<sup>94</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 37, 38.

<sup>95</sup> *Revision of 1860*, Secs. 710, 743, 891; *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, Ch. 24.

<sup>96</sup> *Revision of 1860*, Secs. 1345, 1346; *Stokes v. The County of Scott*, 10 Iowa 166; *State of Iowa, ex rel. The Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company, v. The County of Wapello*, 13 Iowa 388.

<sup>97</sup> *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 3, 1861.

local units of the State were inclined to be extravagant in their local tax levies at the time when the war broke out.

TABLE V<sup>98</sup>

YEAR	NUMBER OF COUNTIES REPORTING	TOTAL VALUATION	STATE TAX	COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP TAX	TOTAL TAXES	RATIO OF STATE TAX TO LOCAL TAX
1861	95	\$187,967,074.35	\$395,538.29	\$1,665,614.56	\$2,061,152.85	1 to 4.50
1862	95	172,984,150.32	355,112.87	1,907,233.48	2,262,346.35	1 to 5.65
1863	98	168,691,063.82	335,310.80	1,980,668.81	2,315,979.61	1 to 6.60
1864	97	177,388,707.17	356,728.04	3,022,712.56	3,379,440.60	1 to 9.00
1865	97	216,558,593.68	445,076.28	3,783,452.35	4,228,528.63	1 to 9.00
1866	94	215,913,606.23	539,766.64	3,824,239.01	4,364,005.65	1 to 7.00

Governor Kirkwood referred to the relation between local and State taxation in his message of January 15, 1862, and presented a table showing the whole amount of taxes collected for all purposes in 1861. The table showed that out of every \$5.66 paid by the people of the State as taxes only one dollar was paid for State purposes; while the remaining \$4.66 was retained in the counties and used for county and other purposes. The Governor regarded this table to be significant, because the people believed that the great bulk of the tax burden was caused by expenditures of the State government under appropriations made by the General Assembly. Thus they had been taught to look to a reduction of State expenses as a means of relief from taxation. "I would not", said Governor Kirkwood, "desire our people to relax their vigilant supervision of State expenses, but I am of opinion this information may lead them to give

<sup>98</sup> Table V was compiled from the reports of the county clerks to the State Auditor in compliance with section 748 of the *Revision of 1860*. The amounts given in this table do not in all cases agree with the amounts given in other tables for the same items. This discrepancy can be accounted for in that the valuations given here are those returned before the Census Board had made the equalization among the several counties. Moreover, the reports of a few of the counties were missing.

as vigilant supervision to the expenditures of their respective Counties, where vigilance is, in my judgment, equally needed.''<sup>99</sup> A select committee was appointed in the House of Representatives in 1862 to investigate the assertions made both within and without the State that exorbitant taxation existed in some of the counties. This committee was not given power to secure information, however, and appears never to have reported back to the House.<sup>100</sup>

TABLE VI<sup>101</sup>

	1863	1865	1915
Population .....	702,162	756,209	2,358,066
Acres of land assessed.....	28,336,345	28,041,051	34,507,866
Assessed actual value of land	\$111,653,109.00	\$140,061,205.00	\$2,347,124,865.00
Assessed actual value per acre .....	3.93	4.99	68.01
Total valuation of all property .....	168,691,064.00	215,063,401.00	4,134,542,350.00
Per capita valuation.....	240.24	284.40	1753.00
Total ordinary State receipts from taxes .....	334,217.90	440,904.05	6,706,484.43*
Total taxes — State, county, and local .....	2,315,979.61	4,228,528.63	50,676,033.25
Tax per capita.....	3.30	5.59	21.49
Per cent of total value paid in taxes .....	.01373	.01966	.01225

\*From taxes, \$2,728,631.66; from other sources, \$3,977,852.77

In order to present a comparison of the taxes levied for State and local purposes a table [Table V] has been prepared. It presents as complete a statement as possible of the amounts raised by taxation for all purposes in the State during the several years of the war. The table is not complete, since some of the counties failed to make reports.

<sup>99</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 269.

<sup>100</sup> *House Journal*, 1862, pp. 266, 297.

<sup>101</sup> Table VI is inserted to present a basis for comparison between the taxing situation at the time of the Civil War and the present. The arbitrariness in valuation makes it unreliable, however, as an exact indication of real conditions. The data was compiled from reports of the State Auditor.

Furthermore, the road taxes collected in the townships, together with the taxes collected in some cities and towns were not, in all cases, reported to the county treasurers, but the table may be taken as approximately correct. Before 1860 the counties were not required to report the amounts of their local tax levies to the State Auditor, but section 648 of the *Revision of 1860* required such a report to be made. The table shows the total valuation of all property; the amount of the State tax; the amount of county and township taxes; and the total amount of taxes levied. The proportion of the State tax varies from almost twenty per cent of the total tax levied in 1861 to approximately ten per cent in 1864 and 1865.

The following excerpt from the report of the finance committee of the Johnson County Board of Supervisors at its September session, 1864, is illuminating in comparing State and local tax levies during the war. The committee on finance recommended the following levy for 1864:<sup>102</sup>

For county purposes, four mills on the dollar; for State purposes, two mills; for schools, one mill; for relief, five mills; for bridges, one and three-fourths mills. Bounty for the respective townships as follows:

Iowa City	6	mills	Big Grove	6	mills
Newport	3	"	Fremont	5	"
Washington	7	"	Scott	4	"
Graham	6	"	Monroe	5½	"
Pleasant Valley	1	"	Penn	4½	"
Cedar	4½	"	Sharon	6½	"
Clear Creek	5½	"	Madison	4	"
Jefferson	6	"	Union	3½	"
Liberty	7	"	Oxford	3¼	"
Hardin	4½	"			

And for school purposes the committee recommended that the amounts voted by the respective townships be levied. A poll tax of fifty cents was also recommended.

<sup>102</sup> *Iowa City Republican*, September 14, 1864.

In summary it may be said that the financial administration of the State during the period of the Civil War was fairly efficient. Strict economy was practised and the amounts of money received and expended by the State were comparatively small. The failure of the bond issue embarrassed the administration and for a short time retarded the State in preparing troops for Federal service. The Federal government, however, assumed the expense of paying, clothing, arming, and equipping the troops, and the relief thus afforded, in addition to the surplus from the general revenue enabled the State to meet all the legitimate demands made upon it for money. Nothing new in the way of methods was developed. Under the pressure of the times more efficient service was rendered by State and county officers, and the tax collections were much better than during the period immediately preceding the war. The local units of government continued to raise and expend in the aggregate, on their own account, a much larger amount of money than was raised and expended by the State.

#### AID GIVEN TO THE STATE BY BANKS AND INDIVIDUALS

Some mention should be made in this connection of the part played by the banks and individuals in aiding the State to meet its financial problems. When the call came to furnish troops for the service of the Federal government there was no money available to provide for the extraordinary expense that must be incurred. The General Assembly was not in session and the Governor had no power to raise or spend money. In this crisis the branches of the State Bank of Iowa and patriotic individuals were quick to offer financial aid to the Governor. The directors of several of the branches of the State Bank passed resolutions directing their cashiers either to advance money to the Governor or to honor drafts drawn upon them for State ex-

pense.<sup>103</sup> These proffers of assistance were appreciated and made use of. The banks were drawn upon for funds with which to equip and subsist the first regiments raised by the State. When the banks were hard pressed for money because of these loans the State could not always make payments in specie, and State bonds and State warrants were often issued in payment, to the disadvantage of the banks.<sup>104</sup>

It would not be desirable in this connection to follow out in detail the various services which the branch banks rendered to the State. Their great service of course consisted in the providing of funds during the early months of the war when money had to be secured and the State was having great difficulty in getting it.

Individuals rendered service of equal value. Hiram Price of Davenport, Ezekiel Clark of Iowa City, Samuel F. Miller of Keokuk, Samuel Merrill, Governor Kirkwood, and others advanced cash to the State for military purposes and were forced to take depreciated State warrants in repayment, with consequent loss to themselves. Some of these men became personally responsible for more than their properties were worth and were frequently threatened with ruin.<sup>105</sup> Sturges and Jay, bankers of Chicago, tendered Governor Kirkwood the offer of a loan of \$100,000 to aid in preparing the troops of the State for service pending the sale of State bonds, but for various reasons the Governor did not feel justified in accepting the offer.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 2, 36; *The Mt. Pleasant Home Journal*, April 27, 1861; *Dubuque Herald*, April 19, 1861; *Burlington Daily Hawkeye*, April 18, 1861; *State Press* (Iowa City), April 24, 1861.

<sup>104</sup> *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 60, 61, 197, 198, 205, 206, 242, 259, 283; No. 2, p. 89.

<sup>105</sup> *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, pp. 271, 272, 341; No. 2, p. 87; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 595, 596.

<sup>106</sup> *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 1, p. 264.

## IOWA'S WAR CLAIM AGAINST THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The following act of Congress was approved on July 27, 1861:

*Be it enacted . . . . that the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to pay to the Governor of any State, or to his duly authorized agents, the costs, charges, and expenses properly incurred by such State for enrolling, subsisting, clothing, supplying, arming, equipping, paying, and transporting its troops employed in aiding to suppress the present insurrection against the United States, to be settled upon proper vouchers to be filed and passed upon by the proper accounting officers of the Treasury.*<sup>107</sup>

Under this law the Governor was able to secure an advance of \$80,000 before any claims had been filed by the State, and an additional \$20,000 was advanced early in 1862 before any claims had been examined. These advances were made because of the great need on the part of the State.<sup>108</sup>

The Governor was at first authorized to settle the State's claim against the Federal government; and claims to the amount of \$647,563.78 were filed during the war.<sup>109</sup> In 1866 an agent was appointed to prosecute the State's claims. The history of these claims is a long one and does not need to be related in this connection. Altogether the State filed claims amounting to about two million dollars and received more than one and a half million dollars in settlement. The last payment was received by the State Treasurer on July 7, 1902.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, Ch. 21, p. 276.

<sup>108</sup> *Report of the State Treasurer*, 1861, p. 8; *Report of the State Auditor*, 1861, p. 14; *Report of the State Auditor*, 1863, p. 7.

<sup>109</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, Ch. 61; letter from the United States Treasury Department in the Governor's Documents, II, 655, *War Claims*, in the State Archives, Des Moines.

<sup>110</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1866, Ch. 95; *Report of the State Treasurer*, 1903, p. 133; letter from the United States Treasury Department in the Governor's Documents, II, 655, *War Claims*, in the State Archives, Des Moines.

## PAYMENT OF THE STATE WAR DEBT

At the beginning of the war the State had a debt of \$322,295.75. Of this amount \$200,000 had been borrowed in 1858 on ten-year, eight per cent, State bonds; and \$122,295.75 had been borrowed from the permanent school fund.<sup>111</sup>

The expense incurred by the State government on account of the war amounted to \$1,049,047.89. The total debt contracted by the State government on account of the war, on the other hand, was at its close represented by outstanding war bonds to the amount of \$300,000, for which the State had received \$277,320 — an average of a little more than ninety-two cents on the dollar.<sup>112</sup>

The difference between the amount of expense incurred and the amount of debt outstanding at the close of the war had been paid during the war from the following sources: in round numbers the Federal direct tax amounted to \$365,000; the Federal government forwarded \$100,000 to the State in settlement of claims; and the sum of \$300,000 was transferred from the general revenue fund of the State to pay war expenses. This left the State with a war debt of only \$300,000, the interest upon which, at seven per cent, amounted to \$21,000 annually.<sup>113</sup>

The General Assembly made provision in 1866 for the redemption of the bonds issued in 1858 by authorizing the Census Board to sell the United States bonds in which a portion of the permanent school fund had been invested, and which were in the hands of the State Treasurer. The board was directed to issue to the permanent school fund a registered State bond bearing eight per cent interest in an

<sup>111</sup> *Report of the State Auditor*, 1859, pp. 9, 10; *Report of the State Auditor*, 1914, p. 388.

<sup>112</sup> *Report of the State Auditor*, 1865, pp. 5, 16.

<sup>113</sup> *Report of the State Auditor*, 1865, p. 5; 1871, p. 7.

amount equal to that received for the United States bonds sold. It was, moreover, authorized to increase the rate of the State tax within the limit already fixed by law. Bonds were sold and the State tax levy was increased from two to two and one-half mills. This provided adequate funds for the redemption of the \$200,000 loan of 1858 due January 1, 1868, and the bonds were redeemed as they were presented.<sup>114</sup>

The State's finances were in a healthy condition at the close of the war. In 1868 Governor Stone recommended that a portion, large enough to pay the war bonds of 1861, be appropriated from the proceeds derived from the State's claims against the general government and set aside at interest in order to save to the State the interest on the bonds and to provide a redemption fund from which the bonds could be paid when they fell due.<sup>115</sup> Two years later Governor Merrill asked that the State Treasurer be authorized to use the surplus funds in the State treasury for the purchase and retirement of the war bonds whenever they could be secured at par. The State Treasurer made a similar request and especially urged that provision be made to retire \$25,000 of the bonds annually, which process would liquidate the whole debt at the time when the bonds were due.<sup>116</sup> Governor Merrill later recommended that the railroad taxes be utilized for the redemption of the State war bonds, but no legislative action resulted from any of these recommendations.<sup>117</sup> Provision was regularly made for the

<sup>114</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1866, Ch. 80; *Report of the State Treasurer*, 1867, p. 7; *Report of the State Treasurer*, 1869, p. 8.

<sup>115</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 94.

<sup>116</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 264; *Report of the State Treasurer*, 1869, p. 8.

<sup>117</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 336.

payment of the interest and the bonds were allowed to mature.

In 1880 Governor Gear reminded the General Assembly that the war loan would mature in 1881 and the legislature authorized the Executive Council to levy a special war and defense bond tax in 1880. In case the proceeds from this tax were not sufficient, the remainder was to be made up from the general revenue. Moreover, in order to assure enough funds the Executive Council was authorized to negotiate a loan on State warrants sufficient to meet the need.<sup>118</sup> A tax of one-half mill was levied which provided, before July 1, 1881, the sum of \$162,662.73, and the Executive Council borrowed \$125,000 on State warrants at four per cent. In addition to these sums, \$9837.27 was transferred from the general revenue — making a total of \$297,500, with which the war and defense bonds, with the exception of bonds amounting to \$2500 which were not at once presented, were paid. Within a short time the \$125,000 in State warrants and the remaining bonds were paid, and in his report for 1883 the State Auditor congratulated the people of Iowa upon the fact that the war debt was paid. He declared that the State's finances were in a sound and prosperous condition and that the executive business of the State was wisely and economically administered.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. V, p. 26; *Laws of Iowa*, 1880, Ch. 199.

<sup>119</sup> *Report of the State Auditor*, 1881, pp. 3, 4; *Report of the State Auditor*, 1883, p. 46.

Iowa came out of the war with a war debt of only \$300,000 while several of the other States were heavily burdened. An Iowa newspaper in speaking of the debt gives Governor Kirkwood credit for having enforced an economical administration and compares Iowa's war debt with that of other States. "Little New Hampshire, with not half our resources, has a loan of near \$4,000,000 to carry. It will weigh like a mountain upon her, and that, with our freedom from debt, will be a powerful stimulus to send her young men to Iowa. So of nearly all of the eastern States. The future of Iowa is bright with promise." — *Iowa City Republican*, June 28, 1865.

TABLE VII<sup>120</sup>

SHOWING THE INDEBTEDNESS OF THE STATE OF IOWA ON JANUARY 1ST  
OF EACH YEAR FROM 1860 TO 1870 INCLUSIVE AND  
FROM 1880 TO 1883 INCLUSIVE

YEAR	BONDED DEBT	INT. RATE	TOTAL BONDED DEBT	FLOATING DEBT	TOTAL DEBT	TREASURY CASH BALANCE	NET DEBT
1859	\$122,295.75 200,000.00	10 7	\$322,295.75	\$106,608.49	\$428,904.24	\$17,483.66	\$411,420.58
1860	122,295.75 200,000.00	10 7	322,295.75	27,831.40	350,127.15	10,516.37	339,610.78
1861	122,295.75 500,000.00	10 7	622,295.75	146,031.40	768,337.15	37,924.22	730,412.93
1862	122,295.75 500,000.00	10 7	622,295.75	86,734.52	719,030.27	39,456.59	679,573.68
1863	122,295.75 500,000.00	10 7	622,295.75	74,729.23	697,024.98	40,086.88	656,938.10
1864	122,295.75 500,000.00	10 7	622,295.75	24,766.14	647,061.89	183,751.24	463,310.65
1865	122,295.75 500,000.00	8 7	622,295.75	33,975.88	656,271.63	253,450.95	402,820.68
1866	122,295.75 500,000.00	8 7	622,295.75	5,668.88	627,964.63	336,979.65	290,984.98
1867	122,295.75 500,000.00	8 7	622,295.75	39,768.83	622,064.58	6,494.29	655,570.29
1868	234,498.01 300,000.00	8 7	534,498.01	21,102.64	555,900.65	108,486.02	447,414.66
1869	234,498.01 300,000.00	8 7	534,498.01	27,866.76	562,364.77	27,830.23	534,534.54
1870	234,498.01 300,000.00	8 7	534,498.01	33,312.40	567,810.41	298,494.95	268,375.46
1880	234,498.01 300,000.00	8 7	534,498.01	113,974.16	648,472.17	3,884.43	644,587.74
1881	234,498.01 2,500.00 125,000.00	8 7 4	361,998.01	158,956.54	520,954.55		520,954.55
1882	234,498.01 100,000.00	8 4	334,498.01	25,283.56	359,781.57	26,883.56	332,898.01
1883	234,498.01	8	234,498.01	215,543.97	450,041.98	15,915.87	434,090.11

<sup>120</sup> Report of the State Auditor, 1914, pp. 388, 389.

In Table VII, the bonded debt includes in 1860 the sum of \$122,295.75,

## CONDITIONS IN THE STATE AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR

When the war ended Iowa was richer, more prosperous and more powerful than when the war began. The population had increased slowly but steadily, crops had been good, and prices were high throughout the war period. Farms had been drained of men for the armies, but labor-saving machinery replaced them and production increased instead of diminishing. There was general prosperity in the State during the war and the foundations for many comfortable fortunes were laid. During the latter part of the war there was much extravagance and waste. Newspapers admonished the people to economize, and especially were those owing debts advised to pay them while money was cheap and plentiful. At the same time there was much saving and investment of a substantial character on the part of the people. After 1862 there were many calls for State bonds from the citizens of the State, but the receipts from ordinary revenue made the sale of more bonds unnecessary. United States bonds were bought instead. The First National Bank of Iowa City alone sold more than half a million dollars worth of United States seven-thirties during the first six months of 1865.<sup>121</sup> The banks were prosperous and business in general was good.<sup>122</sup>

With the close of the war came a reaction, prices dropped suddenly, and business had to be carefully nursed back into a normal condition.

which represents the amount the State had borrowed from its own permanent school fund. In 1868 this sum is increased to \$234,498.01, at which amount it remains throughout the years for which the table gives the data. This was not a debt in reality except in the sense that the State had borrowed that amount from itself and was liable for the interest payments. The principal would, however, never have to be paid. The table also indicates that the floating indebtedness during the war was comparatively small.

<sup>121</sup> *Iowa City Republican*, February 15, March 15, June 14, 1865.

<sup>122</sup> *Iowa City Republican*, November 23, 1864. The Iowa City Branch of the State Bank, on November 4th, declared a semi-annual dividend of ten per cent, *free of tax*, to its stockholders.

From the financial standpoint, however, the State was in a very good condition at the close of the war. The storm of 1861 had been weathered with difficulty, but during the remaining years of the war there was practically no difficulty. The State tax levy remained the same throughout the period, but the valuation of property increased in spite of the war. Moreover, strict economies were practised by the State and the pressure of the war brought about a really efficient administration of the State's finances. At the close of the war the State found itself with unimpaired resources, an increasing population, and a war debt of only \$300,000. Thus the State of Iowa did its part in supplying men and money for the prosecution of the war and at its close found itself in better condition than ever before.

IVAN L. POLLOCK

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA  
IOWA CITY

## EARLY REPORTS CONCERNING THE DES MOINES RIVER

[The following reports of topographical surveys of the Des Moines River by Captain W. Bowling Guion and Lieutenant John C. Frémont in 1841, are reprinted from the *House Executive Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, No. 38, pp. 13-20. They were discovered by Mr. Jacob Van der Zee when preparing an article on *The Opening of the Des Moines Valley to Settlement* which appeared in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for October, 1916.  
— EDITOR.]

### REPORT OF W. BOWLING GUION

St. Louis, October 9, 1841.

SIR: In obedience to your instructions of December 1, 1840, directing me to make a survey of the Des Moines and Iowa rivers, for which purpose there was an appropriation of \$1,000, after having completed the work upon which I was then engaged, and so soon as favorable weather in the spring and other contingent circumstances permitted, I proceeded to perform the duty thus assigned to me. Upon the results of my examinations I have the honor to make the following report.

The appropriation being too small to allow the execution of a minute and instrumental survey of any considerable portion of either of the two rivers, I determined to make such a general examination of them as would show their general character, the nature and extent of obstructions to the navigation of them, and as would enable me to make an approximate estimate of the cost of removing these obstructions.

Accordingly, I advanced with a suitable party to the trading establishment of the American Fur Company, on the Des Moines river, 100 miles above its mouth, the highest

point at which I could obtain a boat, and, having procured a very small and light draught keel boat, moved up that stream an estimated distance of 17 miles above the mouth of Rackoon Fork, one of its principal tributaries, or 137 miles above the trading house. Here, so much of the funds in my hands, as, with a due regard to an examination of the other stream, I could expend, being exhausted, I turned about and descended the river to its junction with the Mississippi, opposite the town of Warsaw, and 4 or 5 miles below the foot of the Des Moines rapids of the Mississippi.

The chief characteristics of this river are, a great declination in the plane of its bed, causing in time of flood a very swift current, unusual uniformity in the depth of water in its channel, great sinuosity of course, and a lesser amount of obstructions in the upper than in the lower parts. These obstructions consist of slight rapids, termed by the boatmen "riffles," and a small number of snags and trees which have fallen from its banks. Besides these natural obstacles, there are two others, caused by the erection of mill dams across the stream — one at Keosauqua, about 60 miles above its mouth, and the other about 10 miles lower down. These effectually prevent the passage of loaded keel boats as well as steamboats; but as the proprietors of the mills are required by a law of the territory to construct locks in the dams, perhaps no importance should be attached to them. Of these "riffles," counting those upon which the dams are built, there are 12, of which 10 are caused by masses of rock, chiefly loose, but some fixed, extending across the channel, and the other two by gravel bars. Six of these are found in the first hundred miles in ascending from the mouth of the river to the trading house; namely, one in 40 miles, having a gravel bottom, and three in the 40 miles above the mill dam at Keosauqua, caused by masses of rock protruding from the bottom. Between the trading

house and Rackoon Fork (120 miles) five more occur; the first at the distance of five miles from the former point, and nearly opposite the village of the Indian chief Appanoose; the second, 13 miles above the trading house; two others, severally at the mouth of Cedar, and one above the mouth of White Breast, two small tributary rivers; and the 5th, 5 miles below the mouth of Rackoon Fork. Above the mouth of this stream, and at the distance of 12 miles, is the last one which I met with. At all of the six designated points, except the first and sixth, where it was hard gravel, the bottom of the river was rock. These rapids are all very short, varying from one to three hundred yards in length; but it would be impossible for me to state with accuracy the depth of water to be found upon them at any particular stage of the river; for, as I was met in my ascent by a considerable flood, the depth was constantly varying; yet, from soundings which were taken throughout, from observations upon the water line, made whenever the boat was not in motion, and from information received from others, I am induced to believe that at a medium stage there will be found, from the mouth of the river to the trading house, nowhere less than two feet of water, which is reduced at certain very dry seasons to ten inches. From the same sources of information, I entertained no doubt, that from the trading house to the point, where I terminated my observations, at the same stage of water, there will be found nowhere less than three feet, which is reduced in the dry season to one foot and a half. During the season of high water, which lasts ordinarily three or four months, and sometimes six, there would always be from five to fifteen feet water in the channel.

The removal of the projecting rocks from a space wide enough to admit the free passage of boats would render the channel singularly uniform in depth, and, with the destruction of the snags, logs, and a few overhanging trees, would

seem to be all that should be done; for, in many of the intervals between the rapids, where the current is more gentle and the bottom fine sand, the depth of water is not greater than upon them. To deepen the channel in such places would be idle, for the same causes which produced would reproduce these obstructions.

There are some other features in this river which would render its navigation difficult, though not impracticable, in any season. These are the extreme abruptness of a few of its many bends, which, by measurement, I found to be equal to and sometimes greater than a right angle, frequently bringing the lower part of its course parallel with the upper, around a point no more than 200 yards wide; the other, the great swiftness of its current at those points, which, from observations made, I believe to be fully at the rate of five miles the hour. But the practicability of its navigation is placed beyond a doubt by the facts, that the American Fur Company have repeatedly transported their supplies to their principal depot in a steamboat of the size ordinarily used on the upper Mississippi in low water, and that a heavily laden keel boat has been taken up nearly to the mouth of Rackoon Fork. And the propriety of making the improvements which I have indicated, I do not hesitate to assert; for the Des Moines is a beautiful river, 220 feet wide where I ceased operations, and increasing in width from 440, below the mouth of Rackoon Fork, to 630, at the trading house, whilst its banks present one of the most fertile and lovely countries nature ever presented to the view of man, abounding in immense fields of bituminous coal from Rackoon Fork nearly to its mouth. Iron, too, I found scattered along the banks of the river, but to what extent it exists I had neither time nor opportunity to determine. In fine, such are the temptations which this country offers, that the portion now in the possession of the Indians will no sooner

pass into the hands of the United States than it will be crowded with whites, as that which lies below the Indian country is becoming already.

In conclusion, I do not perceive a necessity for a more minute survey of this river; for the obstructions are plainly perceptible at low water, and, if it should be attempted to remove them, will point themselves out.

As I was confined to the house by sickness a great part of the summer, I directed my assistant, Mr. Burgess, under proper instructions, to make an examination of Iowa river; and the result of his observations is embraced in the annexed report from him, which, it is believed, will convey all the desirable information in relation to that stream. In the subjoined estimates I have made no allowance for Iowa river higher than the raft below Poweshiak's village, in consequence of Mr. Burgess's report of the immense number of snags and logs above.

I am, sir, very respectfully, &c.

W. BOWLING GUION,  
*Captain Top. Eng.*

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*Estimate of the expense of removing obstructions in the Des Moines river—i. e. opening a passage 100 feet wide through the shoals, and removing all projecting rocks, snags, and logs, from the channel.*

From the mouth to trading house of American Fur Company:

10,000 cubic yards of rock, at \$1.....	\$10,000
2,000 snags and logs.....	2,000

From trading house to head of survey:

9,000 cubic yards of rock, at \$1.....	\$ 9,000
3,000 snags and logs.....	3,000
Boats and machinery.....	5,000

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Total.....	29,000
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## REPORTS OF JOHN C. FRÉMONT

WASHINGTON, April 14, 1842.

SIR: In pursuance of orders received at this city in June, 1841, I left on the 27th of the same month the small settlement of Churchville, on the west bank of the Mississippi, a few hundred yards below the mouth of the Des Moines river. The road for about nine miles lay over a luxuriant prairie bottom, bordered by the timber of the Fox and Des Moines rivers, and covered with a profusion of flowers, among which the characteristic plant was *psoralia onolaychis*. Ascending the bluffs, and passing about two miles through a wood, where the prevailing growth was *quercus nigra*, mixed with *imbricaria*, we emerged on a narrow level prairie, occupying the summit of the ridge between the Fox and Des Moines rivers. It is from one and a half miles to three miles in width, limited by the timber which generally commences with the descent of the river hills. Journeying along this, the remainder of the day and the next brought us at evening to a farm-house on the verge of the prairie, about two miles and half from Chinquest creek. The route next morning led among, or rather over the river hills, which were broken, wooded, and filled with the delicate fragrance of the *clanothus*, which grew here in great quantities. Crossing Chinquest about four miles from the mouth, we forded the Des Moines at the little town of Portland, about ten miles above the mouth of the creek. The road now led along the northern bank, which was fragrant and white with elder, and a ride of about twelve miles brought us to the little village of Iowaville, lying on the line which separates the Indian lands from those to which their title has already been extinguished. After leaving this place, we began to fall in with parties of Indians on horseback, and here and there, scattered along the river bank, under tents of blankets stretched along the boughs, were Indian families; the

men lying about smoking, and the women engaged in making baskets and cooking — apparently as much at home as if they had spent their lives on the spot. Late in the evening we arrived at the post of Mr. Phelps, one of the partners of the American Fur Company. Up to this point there are three plants which more especially characterize the prairies, and which were all in their places very abundant. The *psoralia onolaychis*, which prevailed in the bottom near the mouth of the Des Moines, gave place on the higher prairies to a species of *causalia*, which was followed, on its disappearance further up, by *parthenium integrifolium*. The prairie bottoms bordering the river were filled with *lyatris pycnostachya*; and a few miles above Portland, on the north bank of the river, were quantities of *lyatris resinosa*, mingled with *Rudbackia digetata*.

On the bluffs here, the growth was principally *quercus alba*, interspersed with *tuictoria* and *malrocarpa*, and sometimes *carya alba*. All these now and then appear in the bottoms, with *carya oliveformis* and *tilia*. *Ulmes Americana* and *fulvia betula rubra*, with *osteya Virginica* and *gymnoeladus canadensis*, are found on the bottom land of the creeks. *Populus canadensis* and *salex* form groves in the inundated river bottoms, and the *celtis accidentalis* is found every where.

Having been furnished with a guide and other necessaries by the uniform kindness of the American Fur Company, we resumed our journey on the morning of the 1st of July, and late in the evening reached the house of Mr. Jameson — another of the company's posts, about twenty miles higher up. Making here the necessary preparations, I commenced on the morning of the 3d a survey of the river valley.

A canoe, with instruments and provisions, and manned by five men, proceeded up the river, while, in conformity to instructions which directed my attention more particularly

to the topography of the southern side, I forded the river and proceeded by land. The character of the river rendered the progress of the boat necessarily slow, and enabled me generally to join them at night, after having made during the day a satisfactory examination of the neighboring country. Proceeding in this way, we reached Rackoon Fork on the evening of the 9th of July. I had found the whole region densely and luxuriantly timbered. From Mule creek to the eastward, as far as Chinquest, the forests extend with only the interruption of a narrow prairie between the latter and Soap creek. The most open country is on the uplands bordering Cedar river, which consist of a prairie with a rich soil, covered with the usual innumerable flowers and copses of hazel and wild plum. This prairie extends from the mouth of Cedar river to the top of the Missouri dividing ridge, which is here at its nearest approach to the Des Moines river, the timber of the Chariton, or southern slope, being not more than twelve miles distant. From this point to the Rackoon Fork, the country is covered with heavy and dense bodies of timber, with a luxuriant soil and almost impenetrable undergrowth.

*Acer saccharium* of an extraordinary size, *inglans cathartica* and *nigra*, with *celtis crassifolia*, were among the prevailing growth, flourishing as well on the broken slopes of the bluffs as on the uplands. With the occasional exception of a small prairie shut up in the forests, the only open land is between the main tributaries of the Des Moines, towards which narrow strips of prairie run down from the main ridge. The heaviest bodies lie on the Three Rivers, where it extends out to the top of the main ridge, about thirty miles. On the northern side of the Des Moines, the ridge appeared to be continuously wooded, but with a breadth of only three to five miles, as the streams on that side are all short creeks. A very correct idea of the relative quality

and disposition of forest land and prairie will be conveyed by the rough sketch annexed.

Having determined the position of the Rackoon Fork, which was one of the principal objects of my visit to this country, I proceeded to make a survey of the Des Moines river thence to the mouth. In the course of the survey, which occupied me until the 22d of July, I was enabled to fix four additional astronomical positions, which I should have preferred, had time permitted, to place at the mouth of the principal tributaries.

From the Rackoon Fork to its mouth, the Des Moines winds a circuitous length of two hundred and three miles through the level and rich alluvium of a valley one hundred and forty miles long, and varying in breadth from one to three, and sometimes four miles.

Along its whole course are strips of dense wood, alternate with rich prairies, entirely beyond the reach of the highest waters, which seldom rise more than eight feet above the low stage. *Acer eridcarfurm*, which is found only on the banks of such rivers as have a gravelly bed, is seen almost constantly along the shore, next to the *salex* and *populus canadensis*, which border the water's edge.

The bed of the river is sand and gravel, and sometimes rock, of which the rapids generally consist. All of these which presented themselves, deserving the name, will be found noted on the accompanying map, and two of the more important are represented on a large scale. After these, the most considerable rapid above the Great Bend is at the head of the island above Keokuk's village. The bend in the river here is very sharp, the water swift, with a fall of about one foot, and a bottom of loose rocks, with a depth of two feet at the lowest stage. At the mouth of Tohlman's creek is only a rocky rapid, used as a ford, whose depth at low water is one foot. The rapid of the Great Bend,  $4\frac{1}{2}$

miles below Chinquest creek, has a fall of 12 inches, and, so far as I could ascertain, had formerly a depth of 18 inches at low water. A dam has been built at this place, and the river passes through an opening of about 40 feet. Another dam has been built at a rapid 12 miles lower down, where the river is 650 feet wide. The fall, which I had no means to ascertain correctly, was represented to me as slight, with a depth of 18 inches at lowest water. Four and a half miles lower down, at Farmington, another dam and mill are in course of construction, but the rapid here is inconsiderable, and the low water depth greater than at the other two.

I regret that I had neither the time nor the instruments requisite to determine, accurately, the velocity and fall of the river, which I estimated at six inches per mile, making a total fall of about 100 feet from the Rackoon to the mouth. It is 350 feet wide between the perpendicular banks at the mouth of the Rackoon, from which it receives about one-third its supply of water, and which is 200 feet wide a little about the mouth. Its width increases very regularly to over 600 feet, at Mr. Phelps's post, between which and 700 feet it varies until it enters the Mississippi bottom, near Francisville, where it becomes somewhat narrower and deeper. At the time of my visit, the water was at one of its lowest stages; and at the shallowest place above Cedar river, known as such to the fur company boatmen, I found a depth of 12 inches. The principal difficulties in the navigation, more especially above the Cedar, consist in the sand bars. These, which are very variable in position, sometimes extend entirely across the river, and often terminate abruptly, changing from a depth of a few inches to 8 and 12 feet. From my own observations, joined to the information obtained from Mr. Phelps, who has resided about twenty years on this river, and who has kept boats upon it constantly during that period, I am enabled to pre-

sent the following, relative to the navigation, as data that may be relied upon.

Steamboats drawing four feet water may run to the mouth of Cedar river from the 1st of April to the middle of June; and keelboats drawing two feet, from the 20th of March to the 1st of July; and those drawing 20 inches, again, from the middle of October to the 20th of November. Mr. Phelps ran a Mississippi steamer to his post, a distance of 87 miles from the mouth, and a company are now engaged in building one to navigate the river. From these observations it will be seen that this river is highly susceptible of improvement, presenting nowhere any obstacles that would not yield readily, and at slight expense. The removal of loose stone at some points, and the construction of artificial banks at some few others, to destroy the abrupt bends, would be all that is required. The variable nature of the bed and the velocity of the current would keep the channel constantly clear.

The botany and geology of the region visited occupied a considerable share of my attention. Should it be required by the bureau, these may form the subject of a separate report. In this I have notice the prevailing growth and characteristic plants, and those places at which coal beds presented themselves will be found noted on the map.

Very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

J. C. FREMONT,

Colonel J. J. ABERT,

*2d Lieut. Top. Engs.*

*Chief Topographical Engineers.*

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*Table of Distances*

	MILES	MILES
From Rackoon Fork to upper Three Rivers . . .	$13\frac{3}{4}$	
From upper Three Rivers to middle Three Rivers . . . . .	9	$2\frac{3}{4}$

	MILES	MILES
From middle Three Rivers to lowest Three Rivers .....	$5\frac{1}{4}$	28
From lowest Three Rivers to Red Rock rapids	$16\frac{3}{4}$	$44\frac{3}{4}$
From Red Rock rapids to White Breast river	$9\frac{1}{4}$	54
From White Breast river to Eagle Nest rapids	$8\frac{1}{4}$	$62\frac{1}{4}$
From Eagle Nest rapids to English river.....	$3\frac{3}{4}$	66
From English River to Cedar river.....	11	77
From Cedar River to Vessor's trading house, A. F. C.....	17	94
From Vessor's trading house, A. F. C., to Phelps's trading house, A. F. C.....	22	116
From Phelps's trading house, A. F. C., to Soap Creek .....	$12\frac{3}{4}$	$128\frac{3}{4}$
From Soap creek to Shoal creek.....	$15\frac{3}{4}$	$144\frac{1}{2}$
From Shoal creek to dam at rapid of the Great Bend .....	8	$152\frac{1}{2}$
From dam at rapid of the Great Bend to sec- ond dam .....	12	$164\frac{1}{2}$
From second dam to Indian creek.....	6	$170\frac{1}{2}$
From Indian creek to Sweet Home.....	$7\frac{1}{4}$	$177\frac{3}{4}$
From Sweet Home to Francisville landing...	$9\frac{1}{2}$	$187\frac{1}{4}$
From Francisville landing to Sugar, on Half- breed Creek .....	$7\frac{1}{4}$	$194\frac{1}{2}$
From Half-breed creek to the mouth.....	9	$203\frac{1}{2}$

WASHINGTON CITY, December 10, 1842.

SIR: It will be a reply to a greater part of the questions contained in your favor of the 7th, to say that the survey which I made of the Des Moines in July, 1841, was simply geographical, and principally to determine some astronomical positions, particularly at the mouth of the Rackoon Fork. Any examination, therefore, of the rapids, or other obstructions to the navigation, would be merely incidental; and to those within the territorial line, more especially the

rapids of the Great Bend, which had been made the subject of a particular survey, I gave very little attention. There are some 10 or 12 rapids in the space between the Rockoon Fork and the Great Bend, a distance of 145 miles. Of the two largest, the Eagle Nest and Red Rock rapids, you will find drawings on an enlarged scale on the map which accompanies my report; the former is 108 and the latter 90 miles above the rapids of the Great Bend. At this last place, I estimated the perpendicular fall to be 12 inches; and it is very probable not less than two feet in 80 or 100 yards. The rapid at Lexington is two miles and 1,000 yards south of that at the Great Bend, and by the river  $11\frac{3}{4}$  miles below. Heavy and continuous rains had occasioned a rise of some feet when I made the survey of the lower part of the river, and the rapid at Farmington, which is  $15\frac{1}{2}$  miles below that at the Great Bend, and  $5\frac{1}{4}$  miles south of it, was then scarcely a ripple, and below this point I remarked no rapids worthy the name.

In the course of surveys on the western tributaries of the upper Mississippi, I found, among their numerous shoals, and in the lower part of their course, one to which was usually given the name of falls or rapids, by way of distinction. The "St. Peter's rapids," which form a serious obstruction to the navigation of that river, occur about 60 miles from the mouth. Those of the Embarrus river, of which there are two, about one mile apart, with a perpendicular fall of three feet each, are within the distance above mentioned from the mouth of the river. To this line of falls, extending across these rivers from north to south, and occasioned perhaps by a change in the formation, I supposed that the rapids at the Great Bend might belong.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
J. C. FREMONT,  
Hon. J. C. EDWARDS. *Lieut. Top. Engineers.*

## SOME PUBLICATIONS

*The American Indians North of Mexico.* By WILLIAM HARVEY MINER. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1917. Pp. x, 169. Portrait, map. This little volume was written to supply the need for a brief, readable, and at the same time authentic, account of the American Indians. This purpose, it is believed, has been accomplished. The book is readable, it contains the facts which the average reader would most like to know, and it is of a length which makes its reading a matter of only a few hours at the most.

There are six chapters in the book. The first chapter is introductory in character and contains a brief description of the main physical features of the North American continent. Chapter two deals with general facts about the Indians, such as the theories concerning the origin of the race, and the various linguistic groups. Indian sociology is the subject discussed in chapter three, including the forms of social and political organization, the home life of the Indians, their habits and customs, religious ideas, the position of women, diseases, etc. Iowans will find special interest and value in chapter four, which is devoted to the plains Indians. The Cheyenne, Iowa, and Pawnee Indians of the Algonquian group, and the Sioux Indians of the Siouan group, are the tribes selected for discussion to illustrate the characteristics of the plains Indians. Chapters five and six deal with the Indians of the Southwest and Indian mythology, respectively. Some notes and an index complete the volume.

*Barbed Wire and Other Poems.* By EDWIN FORD PIPER. Iowa City: The Midland Press. 1917. Pp. 125. It is seldom that a book of poems demands more than incidental mention in a historical publication. But aside from its distinct literary merit and the fact that its author is a western man, this volume deserves a place in the literature dealing with pioneer life in the prairie region typified by Nebraska and Iowa. The titles of some of the poems give an indi-

cation of the character of the volume: "The Movers", "The Last Antelope", "The Cowboy", "The Settler", "The Horse Thief", "Barbed Wire", "Breaking Sod", "The Sod House", "The Drought", "The Ford at the River", "The Prairie Fire", "The Boy on the Prairie", "The Grasshoppers", "The Schoolmistress", "Ten Cents a Bushel", "The Church", "The Ridge Farm", "The Neighborhood", "The Claim-Jumper", and "The Party".

The poems are not mere fanciful eulogies, such as are so common among the so-called poetry dealing with the pioneers. Each poem contains a description or is centered about an incident having the appearance of being based on actual fact, while at the same time being typical of the experiences of the early settlers on these plains. They present to the reader, in a very agreeable manner, pictures of pioneer life which are both vivid and truthful. Furthermore, they illustrate the fact, so often overlooked, that in the history of the Mississippi Valley there is an abundance of material for the pen of the writer of real literature.

*The American Indian: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World.* By CLARK WISSLER. New York: Douglas C. McMurtrie. 1917. Pp. xiii, 435. Portraits, plates, maps. "This book", says the author, "is offered as a general summary of anthropological research in the New World. It is in the main a by-product of the author's activities as a museum curator in which capacity he has sought to objectify and systematize the essential facts relating to aboriginal America." The work is divided into twenty-one chapters dealing with the following subjects: the food areas of the New World, domestication of animals and methods of transportation, the textile arts, the ceramic arts, decorative designs, architecture, work in stone and metals, special inventions, the fine arts, social grouping, social regulation, ritualistic observances, mythology, the classification of social groups according to their cultures, archaeological classification, chronology of cultures, linguistic classification, correlation of classifications, theories of culture origins, and New World origins. In an appendix may be found useful linguistic tables and a bibliography. An index completes the volume. A large number of illustrations form an interesting feature of the work.

Two articles which appear in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* for November are: *The War Tax of 1917*, by F. W. Taussig; and *The Adjustment of Labor Disputes in the United States during the War*, by Louis B. Wehle.

*A List of Recent References on Railroads in War* is among the contents of the September number of *Special Libraries*.

*Why We are at War*, by Olin D. Wannamaker; *The Contracting Field for Individualism*, by Nathaniel R. Whitney; and *Horace Greeley and the South, 1865-1872*, by Earle D. Ross, are articles in the October number of *The South Atlantic Quarterly*.

Two articles in the July-September number of *The American Indian Magazine* are the following: *McWhorter—Friend of the Yakimas*, by J. P. MacLean; and *How Flint Arrow Heads were Made*, by Arthur C. Parker.

Among the articles in the December number of the *Political Science Quarterly* are the following: *The National Government as a Holding Corporation: The Question of Subsidiary Budgets*, by W. F. Willoughby; *Social Welfare in Rate Making*, by Raymond T. Bye; and *The Workmen's Compensation Cases*, by Thomas Reed Powell.

In the *Review of Labor Legislation of 1917* which appears in the September number of *The American Labor Legislation Review* there may be found an excellent digest of the laws along this line enacted by the last General Assembly of Iowa.

Students of the American Indians will find much of interest and value in a volume on *Stone Ornaments Used by Indians in the United States and Canada*, by Warren K. Moorehead, which has been published by the Andover Press. The various chapters contain detailed descriptions of certain charm stones, gorgets, tubes, bird stones, and problematical forms. One of the most valuable features of the volume is the profusion of excellent illustrations, some of the plates being printed in color.

In the July-September number of *The Journal of American His-*

tory may be found, among other things, the following: an address on *Democracy's Struggle for Existence*, by Henry Clews; and the first installment of *Recollections of Ninety-one Years in Connecticut and the Anthracite Region of Pennsylvania*, by William H. Richmond.

The very timely topic of *The World's Food* is discussed in the November number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The numerous papers are grouped into four parts. The first part deals with the food situation with the neutrals and food for the allies; part two with a basis for individual and national diets, and food conservation and utilization; part three with production and marketing plans for next year; and part four with price control. Among the papers in part four is one on the *Constitutionality of Federal Regulation of Prices of Food and Fuels*, by Clifford Thorne, formerly a Railroad Commissioner of Iowa.

*What is Fair: A Study of Some Problems of Public Utility Regulation* is the title of a small volume by William G. Raymond, Dean of the College of Applied Science in the State University of Iowa, which has been published by John Wiley & Sons. The five chapters of the book deal with general relationship, suitable control, rate control, fair return, and valuation.

Iowans will be much interested in an article on *Recent Explorations on the Canadian Arctic Coast*, by Rudolph Martin Anderson, an alumnus of the State University of Iowa, which appears in the October number of *The Geographical Review*. He tells of his experiences as the leader of the southern party of the expedition organized in 1913 by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, also an alumnus of the State University, who as the leader of the northern party of the expedition is still in the Far North.

*The Prussian Theory of Monarchy*, by W. W. Willoughby; *Legislatures and Foreign Relations*, by Denys P. Myers; and *Our Bungling Electoral System*, by Joseph Cady Allen, are the three main articles in the November issue of *The American Political Science*

*Review.* The *Legislative Notes and Reviews* consist of notes on the Illinois legislature in 1917, and the index to State legislation. *Judicial Decisions on Public Law* are reviewed by Robert E. Cushman. American war measures, British war administration, and the internal political situation in Germany are subjects discussed at some length in the *Notes and News*, edited by Frederic A. Ogg. Finally, under the heading of *Notes on International Affairs*, Charles G. Fenwick discusses constructive peace proposals and the economic program.

#### WESTERN AMERICANA

*Historical Preparedness* is the title of a paper by Solon J. Buck which appears in the December number of *Library Notes and News* published by the Minnesota Public Library Commission.

Volume two of the *Marietta College Historical Collections* contains the concluding installment of *The Records of the Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company*, edited with introduction and notes by Archer Butler Hulbert. This volume contains the index to the two volumes thus far issued in this series.

Ruth Putnam is the author of a monograph on *California: The Name*, which was published in December in the *University of California Publications in History*.

Knute Emil Carlson is the author of a monograph on *The Exercise of the Veto Power in Nebraska* which appeared in November in the *Nebraska History and Political Science Series*, edited by Addison E. Sheldon.

*County Government in Texas*, by Herman G. James, constitutes number five of the *Municipal Research Series* published by the University of Texas.

H. N. Herrick and William Warren Sweet are the authors of *A History of the North Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church from its Organization in 1844 to the Present*, which has been published by the W. K. Stewart Company of Indianapolis.

It is a volume of about three hundred and seventy-five pages and gives evidence of careful preparation.

*Public Health in War Times*, by Irving Fisher; *The Background of the Great War*, by Orin G. Libby; *The Red Cross Movement*, by H. E. French; *The Universities and the War*, by George R. Davies; *Science in Relation to the Cause and Conduct of the War*, by Frank Allen; and *After the War—What?*, by Hugh E. Willis, are articles in the October number of *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*.

*Wage Bargaining on the Vessels of the Great Lakes*, by Henry Elmer Hoagland, is a recent monograph in the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*. The five chapters deal with the beginnings of organization, growing concentration, trade agreements, disruption of the unions, and open shop.

Number five of the *Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection*, published by Clarence M. Burton and edited by Agnes M. Burton, is largely taken up with the orderly book of Col. John P. Boyd and extracts covering the years 1811 and 1812. There is also a list of the soldiers at Detroit from 1797 to 1802. The remainder of the number, like the whole of number six, is devoted to further selections from the correspondence of William Henry Harrison.

*The Formation of the State of Oklahoma (1803–1906)*, by Roy Gittinger, is a monograph which constitutes volume six of the *University of California Publications in History*. The twelve chapters deal with the beginnings of the Indian territory west of the Mississippi (including the Iowa country), the establishment of the larger Indian territory, the separation of Nebraska and Kansas from the Indian territory, the proposed State of Neosho, the Indian territory during the Civil War, the reconstruction of the Indian territory, the boomers, how the boomers won, four years of waiting, the settlement of Oklahoma Territory, the settlement of the Indian Territory, the admission of Oklahoma, and the eastern boundary of Oklahoma. The book contains considerable material concerning the Iowa, Sac and Fox, Pottawattamie, and Sioux Indians, members of which tribes previously lived in the Iowa country.

One of the most important compilations of source material on the history of the Mississippi Valley which has appeared in recent years is the six-volume set of the *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne 1801-1816*, edited by Dunbar Rowland, and printed for the State Department of Archives and History of Mississippi. William Charles Cole Claiborne was appointed Governor of Mississippi Territory in 1801. In 1803 he was appointed commissioner to take formal possession of Louisiana from France and he remained the provisional Governor of the newly acquired possession until October, 1804, when he became Governor of the Territory of Orleans. He continued to serve in that capacity until the admission of Louisiana in 1812, after which he was twice elected Governor of the new State. In 1817 he was elected United States Senator, but died before taking his seat. These facts about the career of Governor Claiborne indicate something of the value of his official letter books to the student of lower Mississippi Valley history.

#### IOWANA

*Education in Americanism* is the title of an address by Martin J. Wade which has been printed in pamphlet form.

*Preserving the Indian Mounds Along the Mississippi River*, by Ellison Orr; and *Conservation of Natural Scenery in Iowa*, by Bohumil Shimek, are papers in the July-September number of *Iowa Conservation*.

A pamphlet containing *Fifteen Patriotic Editorials* from the issues of *The Des Moines Capital* during the summer of 1917 is a recent item of Iowana.

Two articles, namely, *Judicial Relaxation of the Carrier's Liability*, by R. M. Perkins; and *Growth of State Power under the Federal Constitution to Regulate Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors*, by Charles H. Safely, appear in the November number of the *Iowa Law Bulletin*.

Among the papers in the *Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Iowa Engineering Society* is one by O. E. Klingaman on *The Commission-Manager Plan of City Government*.

In *The Midland* for October, November, and December there are installments of a series of poems entitled *The Neighborhood*, by Edwin Ford Piper, which have considerable interest from the historical standpoint.

*Indian Life* and *A Phase of the Language Question* are subjects briefly treated in recent numbers of the *University of Iowa Service Bulletin*.

Some war letters and biographical sketches of Dugald Porter and W. C. Hayward are among the contents of *The Alumnus of Iowa State College* for October. The November and December numbers both contain information concerning the activities of alumni and former students in war service.

In the October, November, and December numbers of *American Municipalities* may be found the proceedings of the twentieth annual convention of the League of Iowa Municipalities.

The July-September number of the *Iowa Library Quarterly* contains, among other things, some suggestions relative to *The Library as a Collector of Local War History Material*, by Edgar R. Harlan. The October-December number contains a digest of Iowa's response to the call of the American Library Association for a million dollar library fund for the government cantonments.

*The Wild Rose* is the name of a small news sheet the publication of which was begun by the chaplain of the 168th Infantry (formerly the Third Regiment of the Iowa National Guard) in September.

In the October number of *The Iowa Alumnus* there may be found, among other things, an article on *The Iowa Child Welfare Research Station*, by Carl E. Seashore; and a biographical sketch of Nathan R. Leonard. President Walter A. Jessup's convocation address on *A Day of Ideals* appears in the November issue, where the honor roll of alumni and former students in war service is begun. The honor roll is continued in the December number.

Don W. Hutchinson is the writer of an article in the October number of *The Iowa Magazine* entitled *The Story of a Dream Come*

*True* in which is related the history of water-power development on the Mississippi River culminating in the construction of the Keokuk dam. *The Wizardry of Metals at Keokuk* is an article by G. Walter Barr; and under the heading of *Leaders of the "Fighting 54"* there is a brief discussion of the Thirty-seventh General Assembly of Iowa. A short history of Fort Madison, by Charles E. Shafer, is printed in the December number.

Continuations in the October number of the *Journal of History* published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints are: *Voices and Visions of the Yesterdays*, by Vida E. Smith; and *Freemasonry at Nauvoo*, by Joseph E. Morecombe. New articles are: *Senate Document 189*, by Heman C. Smith; *Crooked River Battle*, by the same author; and *Polygamy from an Official Standpoint*, by the same author.

A recent number of the *Studies in the Social Sciences*, edited by F. E. Haynes, and published by the State University of Iowa, consists of an interesting summary of *Social Surveys of Three Rural Townships in Iowa*, by Paul S. Peirce. Geographical features; population; economic conditions; housing, household conveniences, and sanitation; educational conditions and influences; religious conditions; and recreation, amusement, and social life are the subjects discussed.

*Prairie Gold* is a unique volume of over three hundred and fifty pages published under the auspices of the Iowa Press and Author's Club. It is made up of a collection of articles, stories, poems, and cartoons by Iowa authors and artists; and represents the first co-operative attempt to place Iowa "on the map" as a producer of literature. Four artists and about fifty writers contributed to the volume, the proceeds of the sale of which will be devoted to the work of the Red Cross.

The *Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Session of the Iowa State Bar Association*, edited by H. C. Horack, contains the following papers and addresses: *Education in Americanism*, by Martin J. Wade; *Union or Confederation*, by O. D. Wheeler; *The Commerce*

*Clause*, by D. O. McGovney; *Some Observations upon the Legal Profession, Past, Present, and Future*, by William McNett; and *Benjamin Franklin*, by Burton Hanson. In the report of the committee on legal biography appear sketches of the lives of the following members of the Iowa bar who died within the preceding year: M. L. Barrett, Thaddeus Binford, James Patrick Conway, Horace E. Deemer, Guy A. Feely, Albert T. Flickinger, Maxwell W. Frick, Thomas C. Gilpin, Emerson E. Hasner, John Hall Hutchinson, Walter Irish, Henry Jayne, John M. Johnson, Isaac D. Jones, Warren L. Livingston, Ernest L. McCoid, J. H. McConlogue, William Dempsey McCormick, Archer C. Miller, Charles Clinton Nourse, Maurice O'Connor, Eli C. Perkins, George W. Seevers, Louis Allen Smyres, Erastus B. Soper, and Charles I. Vail.

## SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Anderson, Rudolph Martin,

*Recent Explorations on the Canadian Arctic Coast* (The Geographical Review, October, 1917).

Botsford, George Willis,

*A Brief History of the World with Especial Reference to Social and Economic Conditions*. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1917.

Bowman, John Gabbert,

*Happy All Day Through*. Chicago: P. F. Volland Co. 1917.

Brainerd, Eleanor Hoyt,

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## SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

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- Indian Fight Near Webster City, in the *Webster City Herald*, September 21, 1917.
- Iowa Civil War Loan, by Ivan L. Pollock, in the *Clinton Herald*, September 27, 28, 1917.
- Growth of the Public Library Movement in Iowa, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, October 2, 1917.
- A Bit of War History in 1863, in the *Washington Democrat*, October 2, 1917.
- Surviving Members of Sixth Iowa Infantry, in the *Wapello Tribune*, October 4, 1917.
- The Story of the Army Draft When it First Came to Iowa, in the *Panora Vedette*, October 4, 1917.
- Schools of Early Iowa, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, October 11, 1917.
- Past and Forgotten Towns in Story County, by F. S. Smith, in the *Nevada Journal*, October 12, 1917.
- Iowa was Slow in the Early Preparations for the Civil War, in the *Nevada Journal*, October 15, 1917.
- Old Land Certificate of the Year 1848, in the *Clinton Advertiser*, October 17, 1917.
- Early Log Cabin History on the Shell Rock River, in the *Charles City Intelligencer*, October 18, 1917.
- Reunion of the Twenty-eighth Iowa Volunteer Infantry, in the *Brooklyn Chronicle*, October 18, 1917.
- Sketch of the Life of Judge Charles A. Dudley, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, October 19, 1917.
- Governor's Greys During the Civil War, in the *Nevada Journal*, October 19, 1917.
- The Frontier Sketches, running in the *Burlington Post*.
- Equipment of Iowa Troops During the Civil War, by Cyril B. Upham, in the *Clinton Herald*, October 23, 24, 25, 1917.
- Cost of Living in 1842, in the *Cascade Pioneer*, October 25, 1917.

- Sketch of the Life of Charles A. Dudley, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, October 25, 1917.
- National Peace Jubilee at Vicksburg, in the *Waverly Independent-Republican*, October 25, 1917.
- Semi-centennial of H. L. Spencer Company, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, October 26, 1917.
- History of Grinnell and Poweshiek County, by Nettie Sanford, in the *Grinnell Herald*, October 30, November 1, 6, 9, 1917.
- Iowa in the War of the Sixties, in the *Oelwein Register*, October 31, 1917.
- Prices During the Civil War, in the *Stuart Herald*, November 2, 1917.
- Relic of Days when Paper was Produced at Cedar Falls, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, November 2, 1917.
- Civil War Reminiscences, by C. W. Moore, in the *Storm Lake Tribune*, November 2, 1917.
- Sketch of the Life of Henry B. Blood, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, November 2, 1917.
- War Time Doings in Lyons in 1861, in the *Clinton Herald*, November 5, 1917.
- Prices During the Civil War, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, November 7, 1917.
- Old Time Editors, in the *Sac City Sun*, November 8, 1917.
- Sketch of the Life of George W. Sheeks, in the *Albia Republican*, November 8, 1917.
- Sketch of the Life of William E. Rosemond, in the *Independence Journal*, November 8, 1917.
- Sketch of the Life of E. L. Currier, in the *Independence Journal*, November 8, 1917.
- Romance of the Keokuk Dam, by Don W. Hutchinson, in the *Fairfield Tribune*, November 9, 1917.
- Sherman's March, in the *Boone Independent*, November 9, 1917.
- An Afternoon Stroll in Des Moines Sixty-two Years Ago, by Tacitus Hussey, in the *Des Moines Register*, November 11, 1917.
- Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in Allamakee County, in the *Waukon Republican*, November 14, 1917.

- Sketch of the Life of Dr. Jacob Barr of Keokuk, in the *Fort Madison Democrat*, November 14, 1917.
- When Financing was a Real Problem, by Ivan L. Pollock, in the *Des Moines Register*, November 15, 1917.
- Market Conditions in Adair County in 1876, in the *Algona Courier*, November 15, 1917.
- Reminiscences of Civil War, by J. A. Campbell, in the *Pocahontas Democrat*, November 15, 1917.
- Conditions Now are Better than in 1861, by J. H. Galbreath, in the *Zearing News*, November 16, 1917.
- Sketch of the Life of Alfred Jarvis, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, November 22, 1917.
- Old Time Land Values, in the *Dayton Review*, November 22, 1917.
- Pioneers Talk of the Early Days, in the *Ames Tribune*, November 22, 1917.
- Charles G. Patten — Iowa's Oldest Tree Breeder, in the *Tama Herald*, November 23, 1917.
- Pioneer Courts in Boonesboro and Vicinity, by Jackson Orr, in the *Boone News-Republican*, November 24, 1917.
- History of Waterloo Methodism, by Lotus Sarvay, in the *Waterloo Courier*, November 24, 1917.
- The Career of Alexander Moffit, by W. R. Boyd, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, November 25, 1917, and the *Des Moines Register*, December 6, 1917.
- Sketch of the Life of Gilbert S. Gilbertson, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, November 26, 1917, and the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, November 29, 1917.
- Marker for Mormon Trail Across Cass County, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, November 26, 1917.
- Prices During the Civil War, in the *Knoxville Express*, November 29, 1917.
- Frank Mills, Editor, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, November 28, 1917.
- Thanksgiving in an Army Hospital During the Civil War, in the *Manchester Democrat*, November 29, 1917.
- What the Women Did in the Sixties for the Soldiers, in the *Washington Press*, November 29, 1917.

- Events in the Life of Jason B. Packard, in the *Red Oak Express*, November 30, 1917.
- Town of Frankfort, First County Seat of Montgomery County, in the *Red Oak Express*, November 30, 1917.
- Experiences of Early Settlers, in the *Red Oak Express*, November 30, 1917.
- Story of Murder Sixty Years Ago, in the *Red Oak Express*, November 30, 1917.
- Montgomery County Past and Present, in the *Red Oak Express*, November 30, 1917.
- Interesting Items Gleaned from Books of a Pioneer Storekeeper at Iowaville, in the *Des Moines Register*, November 30, 1917.
- The Iowa Civil War Bonds, by F. M. Mills, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 2, 1917.
- Iowa and War, by Cyril B. Upham, in the *Clinton Herald*, December 3, 4, 5, 1917.
- First School House in Iowa was Log Cabin, in the *Webster City Journal*, December 5, 1917.
- Brief History of Boone County's Old Court House, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid News*, December 6, 1917.
- John Mahin on Stirring Times of Civil War, in the *Davenport Democrat*, December 10, 1917.
- Muscatine in the War, in the *Davenport Democrat*, December 10, 1917.
- Iowa Wesleyan University has New Records, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, December 10, 1917.
- New History of Scott County Written by Dr. August P. Richter, in the *Davenport Democrat*, December 11, 1917.
- Claim Clubs of the Early Settlers, in the *Boone News-Republican*, December 12, 1917.
- Winterset History of Forty Years, by E. R. Zeller, in the *Winterset News*, December 12, 1917.
- Personal Observations on Siege of Vicksburg, by T. E. Blanchard, running in the *Preston Times*.
- Our Historic Flag, an Incident of the Dubuque Sanitary Fair, by B. F. Reed, in the *Algona Courier*, December 13, 1917.

- The Little Red School House, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, December 16, 1917.
- Early Army Posts in Pioneer Iowa, in the *Nevada Journal*, December 17, 1917.
- Sketch of the Life of Rev. Dr. Alvah L. Frisbie, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, December 18, 1917.
- Indian Wars in Iowa in Pioneer Days, in the *Nevada Journal*, December 21, 1917.
- Sketch of the Life of Martin L. Burke, Early Stage-driver, in the *Madrid News*, December 27, 1917.
- Sanitary Fairs in Iowa, by Earl S. Fullbrook, in the *Clinton Herald*, December 28, 1917.
- Making the Indian a Self Supporter, in the *Vinton Times*, December 28, 1917.
- Iowa and War, by Cyril B. Upham, in the *Mason City Times*, December 29, 30, 1917.
- Diary of Waterloo Pioneer, in the *Waterloo Courier*, December 31, 1917.

## HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

### PUBLICATIONS

The greater part of *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* for December is taken up with *Official Letters of Governor John Martin, 1782–1783*.

*Gottfried Duden's "Report," 1824–1827*, translated by William G. Bek; *Missouri and the War*, by Floyd C. Shoemaker; and *Missourians Abroad: George Wylie Paul Hunt*, by Ivan H. Epperson, are contributions in the October number of *The Missouri Historical Review*.

A biographical sketch of *Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, A. B.*, by Victor Channing Sanborn, appears in the October number of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

Among the contributions in the October number of *The Catholic Historical Review* are the following: *Origin of American Aborigines: A Famous Controversy*, by Herbert F. Wright; *The Church in Spanish American History*, by Julius Klein; and *Catholic Church Annals of Kansas City (1800–1859)*, by William Kenenhof.

Among the articles in the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for October is one on *John Rogers: Sculptor of American Subjects*.

Among the contents of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* at the meeting of April 11, 1917, may be noted a short article on *Types of Prehistoric Southwestern Architecture*, by J. Walter Fewkes; and a continuation of Clarence S. Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820*.

*The Public Document Division of the Wisconsin Historical Library* is described by Anna W. Evans in *Bulletin of Information No. 87*, published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The combined April-June and July-September numbers of *The Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* are devoted to a reprint of J. H. Daviess' *View of the President's Conduct Concerning the Conspiracy of 1806*, edited by Isaac Joslin Cox and Helen A. Swineford.

A biographical sketch of the late *Professor Marion Dexter Learned*, by Joseph G. Rosengarten, is published in the September-December number of the *German American Annals*.

Two contributions of more than local interest in volume fifteen of the *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society* of Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, are: a lengthy, illustrated description of "*The Alfred Franklin Berlin Collection*" of *American Indian Artifacts in the Possession of this Society*, by Alfred F. Berlin; and *The Reminiscences of General Isaac Jones Wistar, U. S. A.*, by Charles B. Dougherty.

*The Chetek and Rice Lakes*, by Charles E. Brown and Robert H. Becker; and a tribute to the memory of the late William H. Ellsworth, are contributions in the October number of *The Wisconsin Archeologist*.

*Tract No. 97* of the Western Reserve Historical Society contains, in addition to the annual report and some miscellaneous routine material, a number of important historical source materials, edited by Elbert Jay Benton, and entitled *Side Lights on the Ohio Company of Associates from the John May Papers*. Especially are there numerous letters written by William Rufus Putnam.

*Oral Tradition and History* is the title of a short article by Robert H. Lowie, in the April-June number of *The Journal of American Folk-lore*.

Four articles appear in *The American Historical Review* for October, namely: *A Case of Witchcraft*, by George L. Kittredge; *The Lords of Trade and Plantations*, by Winfred T. Root; *The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies*, by Herbert E. Bolton; *The History of German Socialism Reconsidered*, by Carlton J. H. Hayes.

*The Manila Galleon and California*, by William L. Schurg; *Notes on Early Texas Newspapers, 1819-1836*, by Eugene C. Barker; *The Archivo General de Indias*, by Charles E. Chapman; and *Contemporary Poetry of the Texas Revolution*, by Alex Dienst, are contributions in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for October. There is also another installment of *British Correspondence Concerning Texas*, edited by Ephraim Douglass Adams.

*A Record of the San Poil Indians* is the subject of an article by R. D. Gwydir, which occupies the opening pages in *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for October. Then follow some *Pioneer Reminiscences*, by Oscar Canfield, who went with his parents from Iowa to Oregon in 1847. *Port Orchard Fifty Years Ago*, by W. B. Seymour; *David Thompson's Journeys in the Spokane Country*, by T. C. Elliott; *Washington Geographic Names*, by Edmond S. Meany; and some letters illustrative of the *Attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company During the Indian War of 1855-1856*, edited by Clarence B. Bagley, are other contributions.

A monograph on *John Stuart: Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District*, by George B. Jackson; and a biographical sketch of *William Ferrell*, by Roscoe Nunn, are printed in the September number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*. The documents in this number consist of some correspondence of John Bell and Willie Mangum, and some letters of John Bell to William B. Campbell, edited by St. George L. Sioussat.

*Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, by Pierre-Georges Roy; and *Morgan's Raid in Indiana*, by Louis B. Ewbank, are monographs which constitute numbers one and two of volume seven of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications*.

Articles which appear in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October are: *Mac-o-chee Valley*, by Keren Jane Gaumer; *Johnson's Island*, by Hewson L. Peeke; *Muskingum River Pilots: Their Duties and Requirements*, by Irven Travis; *Henry Bouquet: his Indian Campaigns*, by J. C. Reeve; and a detailed description of *The Hayes Memorial* at Fremont, Ohio. Here will

also be found the proceedings of the thirty-second annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

The belated January, 1917, number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* opens with a paper by Joseph J. Thompson, entitled *Penalties of Patriotism: an Appreciation of the Life, Patriotism and Services of Francis Vigo, Pierre Gibault, George Rogers Clark and Arthur St. Clair, "The Founders of the Northwest"*. Other articles are: *Rev. Colin Dew James, a Pioneer Methodist Preacher of Early Illinois*, by Edmund J. James; *Some Beginnings in Central Cass County, Illinois*, by William Epler; *Early Women Preachers*, by Mrs. Katherine Stahl; and *Times When Lincoln Remembered Albion*, by Walter Colyer.

The opening pages of the *Michigan History Magazine* for October are occupied by *Civil War Letters*, written by Washington Gardner. Among the other numerous contributions are the following: *Government Survey and Charting of the Great Lakes from the Beginning of the Work in 1841 to the Present*, by John Fitzgibbon; *Michigan and the Holland Immigration of 1847*, by Gerrit Van Schelvin; and *Holland Emigration to Michigan: Its Causes and Results*, by Gerrit J. Diekema. There is also a descriptive list of the papers of Governor Austin Blair in the Burton Library at Detroit.

The opening contribution in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for September is a monograph by Charles Zimmerman on *The Origin and Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana from 1854 to 1860*, which is concluded in the December number. A very entertaining paper on *The Pioneer Aristocracy*, by Logan Esarey; and a discussion of *The Underground Railroad in Monroe County*, by Henry Lester Smith, are also to be found in the September number; while an additional contribution in December is an interesting paper on *Lincoln in Indiana*, by J. Edward Murr.

T. C. Elliott discusses the question of *Where is Point Vancouver?* in the opening pages of *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for June. John E. Rees writes on the subject of *Idaho—Its Meaning, Origin and Application*. In the September number there

is an interesting article on *The Pioneer Stimulus of Gold*, by Leslie M. Scott. Installments of the biography of *Hall Jackson Kelley—Prophet of Oregon*, by Fred Wilbur Powell, are to be found in both numbers.

A study of *The Development of Banking in Minnesota*, by Sydney A. Patchin, occupies about sixty pages in the *Minnesota History Bulletin* for August. There are also two short articles: *Historical Activities in War Time*, by Solon J. Buck; and *The Preservation of Newspapers*, by John Talman. The November number is considerably larger than the average issue of the *Bulletin*, over one hundred pages being devoted to *Recollections of Minnesota Experiences*, by Theodore E. Potter. Iowans will be particularly interested in the brief reminiscences of the Spirit Lake massacre and the longer account of the massacre at New Ulm.

Among the articles in the September number of *The History Teachers' Magazine* is one by Evarts B. Greene offering *Suggestions on the Relation of American to European History*. Two papers in the October number are: *English Foundations of American Institutional Life*, by St. George L. Sioussat; and *A Renaissance in Military History*, by E. M. Violette. A brief account of the National Board for Historical Service appears in the November issue, where there is also, among other things, a paper on *The American Revolution and the British Empire*, by Evarts B. Greene. *Democracy and War*, by J. G. Randall; *The Holy Alliance: Its Origins and Influence*, by W. S. Robertson; and *The Importance of the Agricultural Revolution*, by Raymond G. Taylor, are articles in the December number.

Frederic L. Paxson's entertaining address on *The Rise of Sport* is the opening contribution in the September number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Of special interest to Iowans is an article by B. H. Schockel on the *Settlement and Development of the Lead and Zinc Mining Region of the Driftless Area with Special Emphasis upon Jo Daviess County, Illinois*. James A. James is the writer of a valuable paper on *Spanish Influence in the West During the American Revolution*. Lawrence J. Burpee presents a

survey of *Historical Activities in Canada, 1916-1917*. The following articles appear in the December number: *Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850*, by R. P. Brooks; *A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition, 1819-1820*, by Cardinal Goodwin; *The Beginnings of British West Florida*, by Clarence E. Carter; and *Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, 1916-1917*, by Dan E. Clark. In the "Notes and Documents" there is an extract from the *Journal of John Sutherland*, edited by Ella Lonn.

The latest addition to the list of quarterly periodicals published by State historical societies is *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin under the editorship of Milo M. Quaife, the first issue appearing in September. The first contribution in this number is an article by Milo M. Quaife on *Increase Allen Lapham, First Scholar of Wisconsin*. John L. Bracklin describes *A Forest Fire in Northern Wisconsin*; and Louise P. Kellogg discusses *Bankers' Aid in 1861-62*. Under the heading of "Documents" there is a contribution of particular interest to Iowans, namely, *The Diary of Harvey Reid: Kept at Madison in the Spring of 1861*, with introduction and notes by Milo M. Quaife. Mr. Reid, whose portrait accompanies the diary, was a resident of Jackson County, Iowa, from 1865 to the time of his death in 1910, and he was the author of a biography of Thomas Cox, published by The State Historical Society of Iowa. In a department called "Historical Fragments", among other things, there is a note on the spelling of the name Joliet. One of the editorials has to do with the Nelson Dewey Park and the first capitol of Wisconsin Territory at Belmont. There are also departments entitled "Question Box" and "Survey of Historical Activities". The new periodical is attractive in appearance, and should prove a very popular and valuable feature of the work of the Society.

#### ACTIVITIES

The next annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held in May at Minneapolis.

The thirty-third annual meeting of the American Historical As-

sociation was held in Philadelphia on December 27-29, 1917, in connection with the annual meetings of several allied associations.

At the last session of the legislature of California an appropriation of \$12,500 was made for the support of the California Historical Survey Commission, which was created by law in 1915. The commission has already made a thorough survey of materials in county archives and has discovered valuable papers and documents in private collections.

The Madrid Historical Society is rapidly acquiring a large collection of relics illustrating pioneer life, judging from the reports of the president and curator, Mr. C. L. Lucas.

The Allamakee County Historical and Genealogical Society continues to perform a valuable service by inducing early settlers to write their recollections for publication in the newspapers. For instance, some interesting *Reminiscences of Pioneer Days*, written by Mrs. Jennie Leui from memoranda of conversations with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Orr, appeared in the *Waukon Republican*, November 14, 1917.

A movement is on foot in Montana to reorganize the state historical society which has been practically inactive for several years. Furthermore, the chancellor of the university has appointed a "University commission on Montana history" consisting of F. H. Garver, chairman, A. L. Stone, M. L. Wilson, H. H. Swain, and P. C. Phillips. The main object of the commission is to publish a quarterly series of monographs relative to the history of the state, the first number of which it is hoped will appear early in 1918.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines are some account books of John D. Baker, an early merchant at the old town of Iowaville on the Des Moines River. They shed much light on the cost of living in Iowa sixty-five years ago. The Department has also received a large and interesting collection of Civil War relics, donated by Rev. H. H. Green of Decorah. The activities of the Department during the past few months include the preparation of a monument to mark the Mor-

mon Trail at Lewis in Cass County, and the plans for the making of a directory of Iowa men in military service during the present war.

The Historical Society of Marshall County held a memorial meeting early in November in honor of the deceased members of the Society. Among others, there were tributes to T. P. Marsh and J. L. Carney, the latter of whom was formerly the president of the Society. At a meeting on November 27th the principal paper was one by Aaron Palmer on *The Marking of Historic Places*. Late in December the Society let the contract for a granite monument to mark the burial-place of "Johnny Green", the Pottawattamie Indian chief who befriended the early settlers and protected them against unfriendly Indians. The example set by the Society in this movement is worthy of emulation by other local historical societies in Iowa.

The semicentennial of admission into the union was properly celebrated by Nebraska. The exact date of the anniversary, March 1, was observed by the legislature and the public schools. At the Aksarben festival in Omaha in October there was presented a pageant of Nebraska history, under the direction of Mr. John L. Webster, at that time president of the Nebraska state historical society. President and Mrs. Wilson were guests of Omaha on this occasion. The main feature of the celebration occurred at Lincoln on June 12-14 under the direction of the state historical society, the state university, and the Lincoln commercial club. The historical society arranged an historical exhibit in the city auditorium which was visited by thousands of people. Moving pictures and lantern slides depicting episodes in Nebraska history were shown. Lectures were given afternoon and evening by the superintendent of the society, Mr. A. E. Sheldon. The most interesting phase of the three days' celebration was a pageant entitled "Nebraska: a semicentennial masque".

#### THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

A volume on the Spirit Lake Massacre, written by Mr. Thomas Teakle, will probably be put to press within a few weeks.

Two volumes have been distributed by the Society since October, namely, a biography of Samuel Jordan Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa during the Civil War, by Dan E. Clark; and a volume dealing with *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley*, by Louis Pelzer.

Three pamphlets in the series entitled *Iowa and War* have been issued since November, as follows: *Iowa and War*, being a brief summary of the part played by Iowa in various wars, by Cyril B. Upham; *Sanitary Fairs—a Method of Raising Funds for Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War*, by Earl S. Fullbrook; and *Old Fort Madison: Early Wars on the Eastern Border of the Iowa Country*, by Jacob Van der Zee.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. Mitchell Pirie Briggs, Fresno, California; Mr. Earl S. Fullbrook, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Althea R. Sherman, McGregor, Iowa; Hon. John T. Adams, Dubuque, Iowa; Hon. W. S. Allen, Des Moines, Iowa; Professor B. T. Baldwin, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. Clara Cooley Becker, Dubuque, Iowa; Mrs. Cora E. Chapin, Union, Iowa; Hon. Herbert A. Huff, Eldora, Iowa; Mr. W. O. Payne, Des Moines, Iowa; Hon. Truman A. Potter, Mason City, Iowa; Dean Wm. F. Russell, Iowa City, Iowa; Hon. W. C. Stuckslager, Lisbon, Iowa; Mr. A. L. Urick, Des Moines, Iowa; Hon. H. M. Havner, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. E. B. Howell, Ottumwa, Iowa; Hon. Harry E. Hull, Williamsburg, Iowa; Adj. Gen. Guy E. Logan, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Hettie W. Seifert, Muscatine, Iowa; Mr. Jay J. Sherman, Luverne, Iowa; and Hon. Burton E. Sweet, Waverly, Iowa.

On Thursday evening, November 8th, at the time of the conference of the Association of American Universities at Iowa City, the Political Science Club of the State University held a meeting in the rooms of the Society. Brief addresses were given by Dean Charles H. Haskins of Harvard University; Dean Herman V. Ames of Pennsylvania University; Dr. George H. Barnett of Johns Hopkins University; Dean Albion W. Small of Chicago University; Dean

F. W. Blackmar of the University of Kansas; Dr. William J. Kerby of the Catholic University at Washington, D. C.; Professor Henry R. Spencer of Ohio State University; Dean Isidor Loeb of the University of Missouri; Dean Kendric C. Babcock of the University of Illinois; and Mr. D. D. Murphy, President of the Iowa State Board of Education.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Iowa Library Association was held at Iowa City on October 9-11, 1917.

President Frank L. McVey, who for eight years has been at the head of the University of North Dakota, resigned in August and in October left the institution to take up his new duties as president of the University of Kentucky.

Late in October the Wayne County Bar Association held a memorial meeting in the honor of the late Judge W. H. Tedford, who for several years was one of the appointive Curators of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

Dr. George Willis Botsford, whose work in the field of Greek and Roman history ranks him high among American scholars, died on December 14th. Dr. Botsford was born at West Union, Iowa, on May 9, 1862.

A beautiful regimental flag has been sent to the old Third Iowa Regiment by the State Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This regiment is now the 168th Infantry and is a part of the famous Rainbow Division.

The Department of Public Instruction, following the plan inaugurated last year, issued a pamphlet containing data to be used in connection with the observance of "Iowa Week" (the first week in October) and "Iowa Day" (October 5th) in the public schools of the State.

A newspaper item relates the interesting fact that Company B, 109th Engineers, formerly Company B, First Iowa Engineers, of Council Bluffs, has in its possession the instruments used by the late General Grenville M. Dodge in surveying for the Union Pacific Railroad.

On October 9th occurred the death of Brigadier-General Hiram M. Chittenden at the age of fifty-nine. His name is well known to all students of western American history because of his important historical works dealing with the fur trade in the West and the early navigation of the Mississippi River.

A unique event, which probably could not be duplicated in a very large number of cases, occurred at Oskaloosa on October 26, 1917, when the H. L. Spencer Company, wholesale grocers, observed its semi-centennial anniversary.

Charles A. Dudley, who has been engaged in the practice of law in Des Moines since 1867, died on October 18, 1917, at the age of seventy-eight. Since 1913 he has been Judge of the District Court of Polk County.

The Civic Forum is an organization at Ames which has displayed much interest in the State and local history of Iowa. At a meeting in November a number of pioneers related their recollections of the early days in this State.

Rev. Dr. Alvah L. Frisbie, who was pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Des Moines for twenty-seven years, died on December 16, 1917. Dr. Frisbie retired from the pastorate in 1898, but has continued to play an active and influential part in the affairs of the church down to the time of his death.

This year will occur the diamond jubilee anniversary of Iowa Wesleyan University at Mt. Pleasant. One very valuable feature of the plans for the proper observance of this anniversary is the issuance of a complete alumni record and directory.

The Grant Memorial Fountain in the city park at Atlantic, Iowa, erected in 1886, is said to have been the first memorial in the United States erected to Ulysses S. Grant after his death.

Gilbert S. Gilbertson, former State Senator and State Treasurer of Iowa, died at Des Moines on November 25, 1917. He was born at Spring Grove, Minnesota on October 17, 1863, and came to Iowa when sixteen years of age. For eight years, beginning in 1889, he served as clerk of the district court in Winnebago County. He was

a Senator in the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh General Assemblies, and State Treasurer from 1901 to 1907.

Due largely to the activities of Mr. F. H. Garver of the state normal school at Dillon, formerly of Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa, and a member of the research staff of The State Historical Society of Iowa, much interest in the marking of historic sites has been aroused in Montana. The Mullen trail, a famous government wagon road running from old Fort Benton, Montana, to Walla Walla, Washington, has recently been marked at eight different places by monuments about twelve feet in height and costing from \$1500 to \$2000 each. A monument has been erected at Goodcreek to mark the spot where gold was first discovered in Montana. Nine markers, some temporary and some permanent, have been placed along the route of the Custer expedition and the Bozeman expedition of 1874. About twenty camps and several battlefields along these routes have been identified.

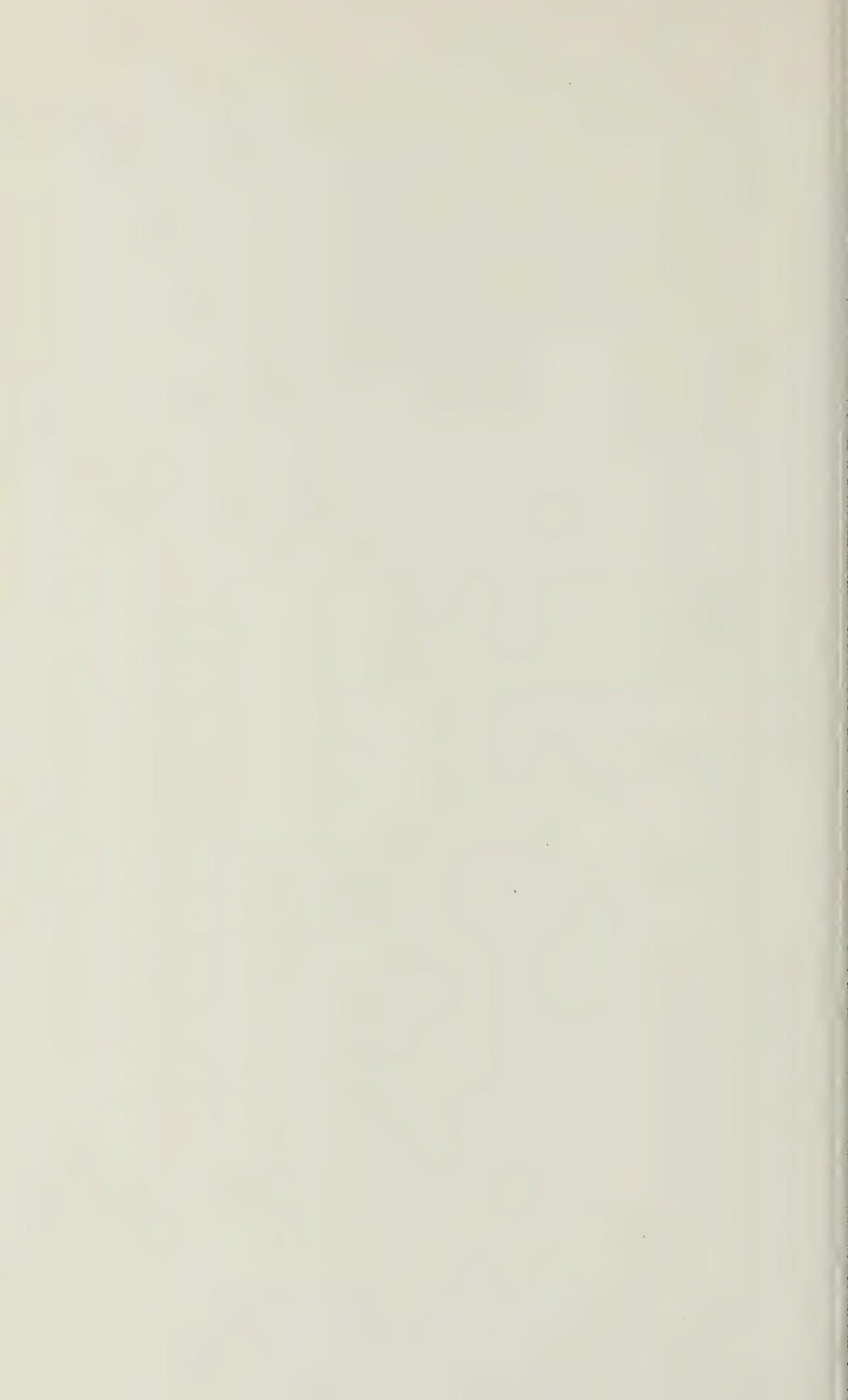
## CONTRIBUTORS

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## RELIEF WORK IN IOWA DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The American Red Cross, the Army Y. M. C. A., and the Knights of Columbus are recognized as vital factors in the conduct of the present World War. Similarly during the Civil War there were such organizations as the United States Sanitary Commission, the Western Sanitary Commission, and the United States Christian Commission, which undertook the work of looking after the health, comfort, and general morale of the soldiers. In addition to the generous contributions which the people of Iowa made to these organizations, they formed local relief agencies through which they worked. It is the purpose of this paper to present a general discussion of the three large national commissions, and afterwards a more detailed account of the activities of the people of Iowa in the interests of the welfare of the soldiers and their families.

### I

#### THE UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION

The Civil War had scarcely begun when, during the last days of April, 1861, there was held in New York City what was up to that time probably the largest council of women ever assembled in the United States.<sup>1</sup> It was at this meeting, called by the women of New York, that the Women's Central Association of Relief was organized for the purpose of assisting in caring for the soldiers in the Union armies so rapidly being raised. The organization proposed

<sup>1</sup> *The United States Sanitary Commission* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 154.

to furnish "comforts, stores, and nurses in aid of the Medical Staff" of the United States Army and to so organize the benevolent efforts of the women of all the loyal States that these efforts might result in the greatest possible advantage to the Union cause. To accomplish this purpose a plan was evolved to establish definite relations with the medical staff, which plan, when eventually achieved, resulted in the formation of the United States Sanitary Commission.<sup>2</sup>

#### AGITATION FOR A COMMISSION

This result, however, was not brought about without overcoming many difficulties. When the members of the medical staff were approached by a committee of New York citizens representing the women of the city with the proposal to establish a civilian commission to aid and advise them, they at once expressed their disapproval and made it evident that they would not look with favor upon any aid or interference from the outside. They replied that the "government was ready and willing to supply everything the soldiers needed or could need; that the Medical Department was fully aroused to its duties, and perfectly competent to them; and that it would be an uncalled-for confession of delinquency and poverty to admit that the army needed, or would need, anything that the government and the Medical Department were not able and willing to furnish."<sup>3</sup> The medical staff "thought the zeal of the women and the activity of the men assisting them, superfluous, obtrusive, and likely to grow troublesome", and believed that the part of the general public in contributing to the relief of the soldiers would be small.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 42, 43.

<sup>3</sup> *The United States Sanitary Commission* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 44.

The New York organization was not discouraged, however, and reënforced by the support of certain medical societies of the city, continued the agitation which had been begun. A delegation of physicians was sent to Washington to investigate the matter and see what they could accomplish. After convincing themselves that some commission to aid the medical authorities was a dire necessity, the delegation offered various proposals for the creation and operation of such a body.<sup>5</sup> Sanitary commissions had been organized during the Crimean and Indian wars, and these men were convinced that such a commission should be formed for service during the Civil War.<sup>6</sup> They met many rebukes and setbacks. Their patriotic and unselfish motives were not always appreciated: often it was insinuated that they were aiming at selfish ends. One secretary "begged" them "to state frankly, precisely what they wanted, as it was evident to him that they could not want only what they seemed to be asking for." President Lincoln himself characterized the plan as adding a "fifth wheel to the coach".<sup>7</sup> One writer suggested that it was during long waits in "anterooms" for interviews with various government officials that members of the commission first conceived the idea, which they later carried out, of providing meals for the disabled soldiers waiting their turn at the paymaster's office.<sup>8</sup>

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMISSION

In spite of many discouragements the advocates of a commission finally obtained the approval of all the necessary

<sup>5</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 50-53.

<sup>6</sup> *The United States Sanitary Commission* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 372.

<sup>7</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 58.

<sup>8</sup> *The United States Sanitary Commission* in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XIX, p. 420.

authorities to a plan which they had submitted. The plan, as set forth in a letter of May 18, 1861, addressed to the Secretary of War by the New York delegation, proposed "that a mixed Commission of civilians distinguished for their philanthropic experience and acquaintance with sanitary matters, of medical men, and of military officers, be appointed by the Government, who shall be charged with the duty of investigating the best means of methodizing and reducing to practical service the already active but undirected benevolence of the people toward the Army; who shall consider the general subject of the prevention of sickness and suffering among the troops and suggest the wisest methods, which the people at large can use to manifest their good-will towards the comfort, security, and health of the Army."<sup>9</sup> Mr. Woods, the acting Surgeon-General, consented to the plan and in a letter to the Secretary of War expressed his opinion that the "Medical bureau would . . . . derive important and useful aid from the counsels and well-directed efforts of an intelligent and scientific commission, to be styled, 'A Commission of Inquiry and Advice in respect to the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces,' and acting in co-operation with the Bureau in elaborating and applying such facts as might be elicited from the experience and more extended observation of those connected with armies, with reference to the diet and hygiene of troops and the organization of military hospitals". He made it clear that the Commission was not to interfere with the existing organization of the medical department, but was intended merely to strengthen it, and suggested that its particular field of service would be with the volunteers.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Documents of the U. S. Sanitary Commission*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Documents of the U. S. Sanitary Commission*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 2.

The Secretary of War issued an order on June 9, 1861, appointing Henry W. Bellows, A. D. Bache, Jeffries Wyman, W. H. Van Buren, Wolcott Gibbs, Samuel G. Howe, Surgeon-General R. C. Wood, G. W. Cullum, and Alexander E. Shiras, as "A Commission of Inquiry and Advice in respect to the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces". These men were to serve without pay, and a room in Washington was given to them free of charge for use as headquarters. The order read that the Commission should "direct its inquiries to the principles and practices connected with the inspection of recruits and enlisted men; to the sanitary condition of the volunteers; to the means of preserving and restoring the health, and of securing the general comfort and efficiency of troops; to the proper provision of cooks, nurses, and hospitals; and to other subjects of like nature".<sup>11</sup> The hopes of the men and women who proposed the Commission had been realized, but there "can, it is feared, be little doubt that the appointment of the Commission was at last consented to as if it had been a 'tub thrown to the popular whale.'"<sup>12</sup>

The members of the Commission met in Washington on June 12, 1861, organized, and formulated plans for conducting their work.<sup>13</sup> At this first meeting Dr. Elisha Harris and Dr. Cornelius R. Agnew were added to the membership.<sup>14</sup> The Rev. Henry W. Bellows was elected president

<sup>11</sup> *Documents of the U. S. Sanitary Commission*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 6, 7; Reed's *The Heroic Story of the United States Sanitary Commission, 1861-1865*, p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 58.

<sup>13</sup> Professor Wyman declined his appointment and consequently was not present at this meeting.—Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 64.

<sup>14</sup> Those added during the war were Rt. Rev. Bishop Clark, R. W. Burnett, Mark Skinner, Joseph Holt, Horace Binney, Jr., Rev. J. H. Heywood, Fairman Rogers, J. Huntington Wolcott, Chas. J. Stillé, E. B. M'Cagg, and Frederick Law Olmsted.—Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 64.

and Frederick Law Olmsted became secretary. The secretary, with headquarters at Washington, was made the chief executive and to him fell the work of directing the organization.<sup>15</sup> Mr. Olmsted was at that time the superintendent of the Central Park in New York and "his appointment was universally regarded as a sure guarantee of the success of the Commission's plans."<sup>16</sup>

#### PLAN OF OPERATION: PURPOSE

A plan of operation was drawn up by President Bellows, adopted by the Commission, and approved by the Secretary of War and by President Lincoln. It called for a division of the Commission into two main committees or branches, one of inquiry, the other of advice, with sub-committees under each. The first branch was to conduct an inquiry as to "the condition and wants of the troops". Its duty was to discover "what *must* be the condition and want of troops gathered together in such masses, so suddenly, and with such inexperience? . . . . What *is* their condition?", and "What *ought* to be their condition, and how would Sanitary Science bring them up to the standard of the highest attainable security and efficiency?" The object of the second branch was "to get the opinions and conclusions of the Commission approved by the Medical Bureau, ordered by the War Department, carried out by the officers and men, and encouraged, aided, and supported by the benevolence of the public at large, and by the State governments."<sup>17</sup>

The main purpose of the Commission from the beginning was to furnish a preventive service, and the plan of operation adopted was largely along such lines. At the same time

<sup>15</sup> *Documents of the U. S. Sanitary Commission*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>16</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 76.

<sup>17</sup> *Documents of the U. S. Sanitary Commission*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 1-4; Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 64, 65.

it was realized that some plan must be devised by which the contributions of the people of the whole country could be directed into proper channels and made to do the greatest possible amount of good. Thus one of the sub-committees of the advisory branch of the Commission was instructed "to agree upon a plan of common action in respect of supplies, depots, and methods of feeding the extra demands of the Medical Bureau or Commissariat". Another sub-committee was to secure the necessary funds "through solicitation of donations, either from State treasuries or private beneficence."<sup>18</sup> In spite of the fact that relief work occupied a comparatively small part in the original plans for the Commission, the great good accomplished in directing the organization of aid societies and in distributing contributions from the people at large soon caused it to become the main agency through which such contributions were directed, and it became a "popular error that it was only a relief association upon a grand scale". The Commission never departed, however, from its true scientific conception of rendering preventive service, always considering the relief work as secondary in importance.<sup>19</sup>

#### FINANCES

Created by an order of a government official and working only for the good of the Nation, the United States Sanitary Commission received and asked for no help from government funds. All it asked "was permission to work".<sup>20</sup> It was necessary for the Commission to secure the support of the public and this object was soon accomplished. The first appeals were made to life insurance companies and brought a generous response. Soon donations were secured from all

<sup>18</sup> *Documents of the U. S. Sanitary Commission*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 68.

<sup>20</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 80.

over the United States.<sup>21</sup> A committee of influential business men handled the finances for the first year. During the early history of the Commission numerous appeals were issued for funds and barely enough money was received to meet demands. In 1862 it appeared that the undertaking would have to be abandoned for lack of funds — in fact a motion to that end was actually considered by the members of the Commission, but by a unanimous vote they decided to continue the struggle as long as possible.<sup>22</sup>

These financial difficulties came at about the time when the war was beginning in dead earnest and when the fact that there was great suffering among the soldiers was becoming known at home. A new interest then sprang up and the cash receipts of the Commission began to increase. In September over \$200,000 was received from the people of the western coast. This was a new source of revenue and furnished an example which stimulated an increase in the returns from other sections of the country. In reality this timely aid marked the turning point and practically ended the "financial infancy of the Commission." In December, 1863, the funds again became somewhat low and resulted in the last public appeal which it was necessary to make. The characteristic feature of all the appeals was the fact that no attempt was made to arouse the emotions of the people and work upon their sympathies, but instead the emphasis was placed entirely upon the real economic value of the constructive work accomplished.<sup>23</sup>

One of the greatest sources from which funds poured into the treasury of the Commission was the sanitary fairs held throughout the country. The first of these fairs was held at Chicago in November, 1863, and the sum of \$79,000 was

<sup>21</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 84.

<sup>22</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, Chapter XVIII.

<sup>23</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, Chapter XVIII.

raised. Thereafter fairs were held in many cities and large amounts of money and supplies were obtained. Through this means Boston raised \$153,000; Cincinnati, \$263,000; Albany, \$80,000; Brooklyn, \$425,000; New York, \$1,100,000; Philadelphia, \$1,200,000; Cleveland, \$60,000; Buffalo, \$40,000; and Honolulu \$5,500.<sup>24</sup> The proceeds from the fairs were in many instances used directly by the local organizations conducting them, as was the case in Chicago, but in other cases a part of the proceeds was turned over to the central treasury of the Commission. The first money from fairs came to the central treasury in January, 1864, when \$50,000 was received from Boston. Thereafter other amounts were received until the total receipts of the central treasury from this source reached \$2,736,868.<sup>25</sup>

#### PREVENTIVE SERVICE OF THE COMMISSION

A brief summary of the work of the Commission will be sufficient to show what it accomplished in relieving and preventing disease, in caring for the sick and wounded, and in collecting and distributing supplies — all of which services played an important part in increasing and maintaining the general efficiency of the army. Preventive measures which, as has been seen, were the primary aim of the Commission, were the first to be undertaken. Army camps and military hospitals were inspected and recommendations were made for their improvement. At first, members of the Commission undertook to make inspections themselves, but in order to keep a more careful watch over conditions in all the camps and hospitals it was soon necessary to secure addi-

<sup>24</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, November 26, 1864; Fite's *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*, p. 282.

<sup>25</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, Chapter XVIII. It was stated by officers of the United States Sanitary Commission that the fairs actually resulted in loss rather than gain. Instead of guaranteeing the future of the Commission they tended, in the end, to lessen the income.

tional inspectors. Plans proposed by the Commission for better sanitary conditions were at first largely disregarded, but were gradually accorded greater and greater recognition until finally many of them were put into operation with gratifying success. Its plans for new hospitals were accepted by the government officials without change, and additional hospitals were constructed upon their recommendations. As a result of its insistence the medical department of the army was completely reorganized and put upon a much more practical and efficient basis.<sup>26</sup>

Physicians, at work on the battlefields and in the hospitals, early met with many diseases which were new to them and which, because of the lack of proper information, they were handicapped in treating. When this situation came to the attention of the Commission, it secured specialists in various lines to prepare medical and surgical monographs covering particular branches, and these monographs were furnished to the physicians and surgeons in the service of the army for their instruction. The good accomplished by the preventive work of the Commission can not be measured, but it is at least certain that it was an important factor in determining the final outcome of the war.<sup>27</sup>

#### RELIEF WORK

The relief work carried on by the Commission is of the greatest interest, since it was with this phase of the work that Iowa was connected. When the Commission first began operations there was a feeling that the assumption on its part of any of the burdens of relief work would tend to weaken the responsibility of the government in that work. But when it soon became evident that many of the needs of the soldiers would not be supplied without assistance from

<sup>26</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, Chapters IV, V.

<sup>27</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, Chapter V.

the Commission, that organization did not hesitate to enter upon the task of gathering and distributing stores and supplies of all kinds. So strong was the desire of the people to aid the soldiers that this desire was sure to find expression in many and valuable donations; and realizing this fact, the Commission undertook to direct and control the nature of the supplies and their distribution.<sup>28</sup>

#### SYSTEM OF COLLECTING STORES

The perfection of a system for collecting and controlling public contributions was at once begun. Depots to which supplies could be sent and from which they could be forwarded to the places of need were established in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago, and Louisville, and came to be known as branches of the United States Sanitary Commission. Men in various sections of the country were appointed as associate members of the Commission, their duties being "to promote the establishment of auxiliary associations and so to direct the labors of those already formed, for the aid and relief of the army, that they might strengthen and support those of the Commission." The associate members also took charge of the supply depots and managed them on behalf of the Commission.<sup>29</sup>

The burden of raising supplies fell largely upon the women. They were urged to form societies in every neighborhood, to solicit donations, and to hold weekly meetings for the purpose of preparing articles for the use of the men in

<sup>28</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 167, 174, 175, 176.

<sup>29</sup> *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1863, p. 2; Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 180. Associate members of the United States Sanitary Commission in Iowa, as listed in the *Documents of the U. S. Sanitary Commission*, Vol. II, No. 74, pp. 1-22, were Dr. Charles Clark, Robert L. Collier, and John B. Elbert.

service. As a result, during the war more than seven thousand local Aid Societies were organized, composed solely of women who devoted much of their time and energy to work for the cause of the Commission, and who were responsible, in a large measure, for the success of the whole movement. Many Aid Societies had been organized before the Commission began its campaign and although the majority of them were eventually included in the national organization, this consolidation did not come about without a certain amount of strife.

Each community felt, at first, that its duty was to care for its own soldiers. To send supplies by friends and townsmen "who should see these comforts put upon the very backs, or into the very mouths, they were designed for, was the most natural plan in the world". "Nothing had been more difficult, at first, than to divert the warm impulses of the hearts of the women from efforts to minister to the necessities of those, who, going from their own households, seemed to have peculiar and special claims upon their sympathy." Many of the States undertook to care for their own troops, no matter where they might be;<sup>30</sup> and as "South Carolina said she could take better care of her own commerce and her own forensic interests than the United States government, so Iowa and Missouri and Connecticut and Ohio insisted that they could each take better care of their own soldiers, after they were merged in the general Union army, than could any central or federal or United States commission, whatever its resources or its organization."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 169, 172, 180, 186, 189, 190; Reed's *The Heroic Story of the United States Sanitary Commission, 1861-1865*, p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> *The United States Sanitary Commission* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, pp. 181, 183.

The position taken by the Commission was that since all the men were fighting for a single purpose and represented, not single States, but the entire Union, they should all be accorded the same treatment regardless of the State from which they might have enlisted. This stand by the Commission and the great difficulties that faced those States which tried to care for their own troops after they once became widely scattered, served to hasten the abandonment of independent State action.<sup>32</sup> By January, 1864, Missouri was the only State which had failed to unite and coöperate with the United States Sanitary Commission.<sup>33</sup>

When the Aid Societies had been organized and put into operation contributions began to pour into the headquarters in large amounts. To stimulate and maintain interest among the Aid Societies, the Commission established a system of canvassing by agents, who frequently visited the local societies, presenting to them the needs of the army and keeping their enthusiasm aroused by descriptions of the Commission's work and its gratifying results. Bulletins and letters were regularly issued and served to keep all parts of the organization in close touch and fully informed of the progress being made. As the war progressed it was rather expected that the women's interest in the movement would gradually decline, but time proved that such was not the case. Instead of decreasing, the number of Aid Societies and the amount of supplies which they forwarded increased and large quantities of stores continued to pour in

<sup>32</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 189, 190.

<sup>33</sup> The United States Sanitary Commission in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, pp. 183, 184. The reason why the people of Missouri did not coöperate with the United States Sanitary Commission was because the headquarters of the Western Sanitary Commission were at St. Louis, and this Commission had charge of all the work in the State. That the people of Missouri did their share in relief work will be seen in the account of the Western Sanitary Commission in the following section.

until the close of the war. It is estimated that three-fourths of the total supplies received by the Commission were collected by the women in this manner.<sup>34</sup>

#### GENERAL RELIEF

Relief as administered by the Commission was of two types — general relief and special relief. General relief had to do with the work in the hospitals, in the camps, on marches, or upon the battlefield, and was administered according to definite rules, which were always closely followed. All work was carried on through the army surgeons or other officers, nothing being undertaken without their knowledge and consent. This course, it was realized, was necessary in order to maintain the proper army discipline. Before any supplies were issued the Commission made sure that a real need existed for them, and even then a written statement or voucher was required of the surgeon applying for assistance. All the general, field, and regimental hospitals were supplied with visitors representing the Commission, who had access to supplies and sanitary stores. When there was need for their assistance, which was almost constantly, they did all in their power to furnish both the things needed and the necessary personal service.<sup>35</sup>

To each army sent on distant expeditions, and usually to each column of the main armies, was assigned an inspector, who was always a medical man, and a staff of assistants called relief agents. Connected with each of these units was a depot of supplies, and wagons or boats were provided to transport such stores as might be required on the marches. A moderate compensation was paid to these and

<sup>34</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 187, 188.

<sup>35</sup> Stille's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 244, 246, 249.

other agents of the Commission.<sup>36</sup> There were many who opposed the policy of paid agents, believing that voluntary service should be used exclusively, but the Commission soon learned that the work which agents were forced to undertake was a "hard, continuous and prosaic one", which demanded patience and, above all, permanent service. Experiments showed that volunteer helpers did not meet these requirements, and since the aim of the Commission was to secure the best possible service, they decided to pay their agents and thus increase the probability that they would remain in the work. Moreover, with paid agents it was possible to maintain a discipline that could not be hoped for with volunteers.<sup>37</sup>

As has already been noted, supplies were forwarded by the local Aid Societies to a sub-depot in one of the larger cities. Here the stores were sorted and repacked, and held subject to the requisitions of the persons in charge of the two central depots at Washington and Louisville, where the reserve stores were held until needed. From these central depots the inspectors in the field secured the necessary supplies; and whenever they needed anything it was immediately forwarded to them. In cases of a demand for articles not on hand, they were purchased or special appeals to the people were issued. For example, when scurvy began to invade the armies, appeals known as "Onion Circulars" and "Potato Circulars" were sent out, and in response thousands of barrels of onions and potatoes were secured from the farmers of the Northwest and quickly dispatched to the places of need. A military officer of high rank de-

<sup>36</sup> *The Report of the United States Sanitary Commission for 1864-1865*, p. 807, states that the Commission employed two hundred agents at an average of two dollars per day or a total of \$12,000 per month.

<sup>37</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 250, 251, 258, 259.

clared that the Sanitary Commission, by this means, had saved the army engaged in the siege of Vicksburg.<sup>38</sup>

One of the most interesting departments of general relief was that known as Battle Field Relief. Immediately after a battle the agents of the Commission rushed supplies to the field and all that was possible was done to relieve the wants and sufferings of the soldiers. Special groups of men, known as the Relief Corps, were trained for this task, which proved to be difficult. An account of the Commission's activities after the battle of Gettysburg shows the nature of battlefield relief. Within two weeks after the battle, according to an estimate of Mr. Bellows, the sum of \$75,000 was devoted to relief work at that particular place. Much of this money went to purchase supplies which were hurried to the army by express-cars and independent wagon trains. Sixty tons of fresh vegetables were carried forward in refrigerating cars, and vast amounts of clothing, food, fruits, and many other things which would promote the welfare and comfort of the sick and wounded were distributed.<sup>39</sup>

Included in the items of food and delicacies distributed were 11,000 pounds of fresh poultry and mutton, 6430 pounds of fresh butter, 8500 dozen eggs, 675 bushels of fresh garden vegetables, 48 bushels of fresh berries, 12,900 loaves of bread, 20,000 pounds of ice, 3800 pounds of concentrated beef soup, 12,500 pounds of concentrated milk, 7000 pounds of prepared farinaceous foods, 3500 pounds of dried fruits, 2000 jars of jellies and conserves, 750 gallons of tamarinds, 116 boxes of lemons, 46 boxes of oranges, 850

<sup>38</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 191, 249, 250.

<sup>39</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 260, 261, 262; *The United States Sanitary Commission* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, pp. 403, 404.

pounds of coffee, 831 pounds of chocolate, 426 pounds of tea, 6800 pounds of white sugar, 785 bottles of syrup, 1250 bottles of brandy, 1168 bottles of whiskey, 1148 bottles of wine, 600 gallons of ale, 134 barrels of crackers, 500 pounds of preserved meats, 3600 pounds of preserved fish, 400 gallons of pickles, 42 jars of catsup, 24 bottles of vinegar, 43 jars of Jamaica ginger, 100 pounds of tobacco, 1000 tobacco pipes, 1621 pounds of codfish, 582 cans of canned fruit, 72 cans of oysters, and 302 jars of brandied peaches. In the list of clothing and hospital supplies were 7143 drawers, 10,424 shirts, 2144 pillows, 264 pillow cases, 1630 bed sacks, 1007 blankets, 275 sheets, 508 wrappers, 2659 handkerchiefs, 5818 pairs of stockings, 728 bed pans, 10,000 towels and napkins, 2300 sponges, 1500 combs, 200 buckets, 250 pounds of castile soap, 300 yards of oiled silk, 7000 tin basins and cups, 110 barrels of oil linen, 7 water tanks, 46 water coolers, 225 bottles of bay rum and cologne, 3500 fans, 11 barrels of chloride of lime, 4000 pairs of shoes and slippers, 1200 pairs of crutches, 180 lanterns, 350 candles, 300 square yards of canvas, 648 pieces of netting, 237 quires of paper, 189 pieces of clothing, and 16 rolls of plaster.<sup>40</sup>

Even greater was the battlefield relief administered after the Battle of the Wilderness in Virginia in 1864. At that time two steam barges and four hundred and forty wagons carried to the field over two hundred tons of stores, which were distributed by two hundred of the Commission's agents.<sup>41</sup>

The following description of the general relief work, as given by Stillé, shows the remarkable possibilities of the Commission's organization:

<sup>40</sup> Fite's *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*, pp. 277, 278.

<sup>41</sup> Fite's *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*, p. 278.

Whether the wants of the Army of the Potomac were confined to suitable Hospital clothing and Hospital diet, whether General Rosecrans' army before Chattanooga, or that of General Grant before Vicksburg was wasting away from the terrible effects of scurvy, whether General Gilmore's army on Morris Island was perishing of disease aggravated by the use of brackish water, or that of General Weitzel in Texas was suffering from a total deprivation of vegetable food, the stores of the Commission were always found abundant for supplying the particular necessity, and were conveyed to the sufferers with a promptness and with an abundance, which never failed speedily to restore their shattered strength. It seemed indeed just as easy with the means at the disposal of the Commission, and with the thorough organization of its system to forward cargoes of ice and anti-scorbutics to South Carolina or Texas, or to transport thousands of barrels of onions and potatoes from the distant Northwest to the Armies of General Rosecrans or General Grant, as to send a few cases of shirts and drawers, and of Hospital delicacies from Washington to the Army of the Potomac.<sup>42</sup>

#### SPECIAL RELIEF

The other type of relief — that is, special relief — was provided for "the care of sick and needy soldiers in the vicinity of military depôts, discharged men, paroled prisoners, and that vast class of sufferers known as soldiers in 'irregular circumstances' or, in other words, those that had no legal claim upon the ordinary provisions of the government for assistance." Homes for the men formed one of the greatest items in this branch of the work. Here care was given to soldiers who were not sick enough for the hospitals and who were not well enough to return to service, and to those who needed aid in many other ways. Forty such homes, from Washington to Brownsville, Texas, were maintained by the Commission, in which over four and a half million meals were served, and a million lodgings given to deserving soldiers.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, p. 252.

<sup>43</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 244, 294, 295.

Another kind of special relief took the form of feeding stations conducted for the benefit of soldiers going from the battlefields to the hospitals. Owing to the great number of wounded men and the difficulties of travel, much suffering often resulted, and in order to furnish relief as far as possible these stations were maintained along the routes of travel. Convalescent camps, where men might recuperate their strength after leaving the hospitals and before returning to service, were also established, more than two hundred thousand men passing through a single one of these camps in 1863 and 1864.<sup>44</sup>

Under a special bureau there was conducted a hospital directory, with headquarters at Washington and branch offices at Philadelphia, Louisville, and New York, by means of which there was kept a complete record of the names of men in hospitals. In these four offices were contained the names of over six hundred thousand men, with the latest procurable information in regard to the position and condition of each man, which furnished an invaluable service in keeping the people informed of the whereabouts and condition of relatives and friends. Through a Pension Bureau and War Claim Agency the sum of over two and a half million dollars was secured for soldiers by examining and perfecting the papers which represented their claims upon the government.<sup>45</sup> The branches of this agency in Iowa were at Dubuque, Davenport, Des Moines, and Burlington.<sup>46</sup> This department continued to operate for some time after the war and helped to collect back pay and pension money due to the soldiers.<sup>47</sup>

Other forms of special relief consisted of providing

<sup>44</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 298-303.

<sup>45</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 307-314.

<sup>46</sup> *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, No. 40, 1865, pp. 1277, 1278.

<sup>47</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 310-314.

homes at the military centers where the wives and mothers of sick and wounded soldiers could be cared for while visiting their kin. Detectives were also employed to protect soldiers from sharpers; and couriers were provided on the trains to minister to traveling soldiers who might be in need of, or could be aided by, their services.<sup>48</sup> The many phases of the relief work show upon what a large scale the Commission was operating, and what a wide field of activities it embraced. As expressed by a writer in an English periodical, the principle upon which the Commission proceeded seems to have been "never to find a want of any kind without striving to supply it."<sup>49</sup>

#### VALUE OF RELIEF WORK

The total value of the supplies collected and distributed by the Commission was estimated to be \$15,000,000. The cash receipts were \$4,962,014. These totals, it must be remembered, were for the goods and money actually handled by the central body. In addition each local Aid Society raised money for local work which never passed through the hands of the Commission. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a statement from all the local societies concerning their work, the Commission estimated their aggregate contributions to be more than half of that of the Commission and its branches. Many of the railroads, telegraph, and express companies gave their services free of charge or at greatly reduced rates. At least three-fourths of the cost of transportation of all supplies was given free of charge. The newspapers printed advertisements for the Commission without charge, and many stores and companies from which goods were purchased lowered their prices so as to

<sup>48</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 314, 315.

<sup>49</sup> Cobbe's *The American Sanitary Commission and Its Lesson* in *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. LXXV, p. 405.

barely cover the cost to themselves. All these services were of great money value, and an estimate of all of the services of the Commission, which includes the supplies, the cash, and other items, places the total at not less than \$25,000,-000.<sup>50</sup> The efficiency with which this vast supply of stores was handled is suggested by the report of the western department for the two years ending September 1, 1863, during which time this department distributed stores of an estimated value of \$2,250,000, at an expense of \$35,000, or one and one-half per cent of their valuation.<sup>51</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The great success of the United States Sanitary Commission has been attributed to the genuineness with which it carried out its pledge to act strictly as a subordinate and auxiliary body to the medical staff. It was always "loyal to the Medical Department,—its fearless critic, but never its rival or supplanter,—its watchful spur, but never its sly traducer or its disguised enemy." After the Commission had been in operation for some time, the officers of the Medical Bureau realized that it was possible for it "really to aid and not embarrass them" and they entered with hearty coöperation into the work. The relief work undertaken by the Commission is also generally considered to have been a great factor in its success, and historians have questioned whether it would ever have succeeded without it. The material aid rendered appealed to the public; it aroused popular interest and brought funds into the treasury which could be used for preventive service.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 487-490.

<sup>51</sup> *The United States Sanitary Commission* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 407.

<sup>52</sup> *The United States Sanitary Commission* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 194; Cobbe's *The American Sanitary Commission and Its Lesson* in *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. LXXV, p. 409; Stillé's *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*, pp. 185, 255.

When the Commission was organized its members "had nobody to help them and everybody to thwart them. Before they had done, they had imitators without number, eager to do their work, and glad to take their name."<sup>53</sup> An English writer speaks of the United States Sanitary Commission as "worthy of the closer study of English philanthropists" and affirms that "the Sanitary Commission effected a greater amount of good than had ever before been done in time of war".<sup>54</sup>

## II

## THE UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSE

About four months after the opening of the war Vincent Colyer of New York conceived the idea "of bringing religious influences to bear" upon the men serving in the army. The general public, however, was slow to fall in line with his suggestion, and it was not until November 16, 1861, that representatives of Young Men's Christian Associations met in New York and established the United States Christian Commission,<sup>55</sup> the purpose of which was "to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the officers and men of the United States army and navy".<sup>56</sup>

The men named to serve upon the Commission were Rev. Rollin H. Neale of Boston, George H. Stuart of Philadelphia, Charles Demond of Boston, John P. Crozer of

<sup>53</sup> *The United States Sanitary Commission* in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XIX, p. 418.

<sup>54</sup> Cobbe's *The American Sanitary Commission and Its Lessons* in *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. LXXV, pp. 401, 405.

<sup>55</sup> Mr. Moss's "Christian Commission" in *The Nation*, Vol. VI, pp. 214, 215.

<sup>56</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, p. 5.

Philadelphia, Bishop E. S. Janes of New York, Rev. M. L. R. P. Thompson of Cincinnati, Hon. Benjamin F. Mannierre of New York, Col. Clinton B. Fisk of St. Louis, Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler of Brooklyn, John V. Farwell of Chicago, Mitchell H. Miller of Washington, and John D. Hill of Buffalo. Immediately after their appointment these men met in Washington and perfected an organization by electing George H. Stuart as chairman, B. F. Mannierre as secretary and treasurer, and George H. Stuart, Bishop E. S. Janes, Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler, Charles Demond, and Benjamin F. Mannierre as an executive committee. Headquarters were established in New York and work was immediately begun.<sup>57</sup>

Considerable time elapsed, however, before anything of importance was accomplished. "For a good many months — seven or eight — the work languished, and at times it seemed as if it would never be even well begun." In July, 1862, Mr. Morrison, the secretary in charge of the headquarters, wrote "that the property on hand consists of a mahogany table with two drawers, two oak chairs, some books and stationery in a desk — the desk apparently a borrowed one — a lot of pamphlets, miscellaneous books,

<sup>57</sup> Later the offices of secretary and treasurer were separated, Rev. A. M. Morrison becoming secretary. During the first year B. F. Mannierre and Rev. B. C. Cutler resigned from the Commission and Jay Cooke of Philadelphia and Rev. James Eells of Brooklyn were named to succeed them. J. P. Crozer and Jay Cooke filled the vacancies on the executive committee; Joseph Patterson of Philadelphia assumed the duties of treasurer. After several months of gratuitous service, Rev. A. M. Morrison resigned as secretary, and was followed in that office by Rev. W. E. Boardman. At this time the headquarters were moved from New York to Philadelphia.—*First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, pp. 5, 6.

During the third year of the Commission's activities its membership was increased from twelve to forty-eight; the executive committee from five to fourteen; and two secretaryships were established, one for home organization, the other for field organization.—*Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1865, p. 15.

newspapers, and magazines; a coal scuttle, coal-scoop, hammer, box-opener, and marking-pot; some paper, nails, and twine; eighty-four three-cent stamps and fifty blue ones in a buff envelope, and a less number of the same value in a box of pens in the back part of a drawer. The only thing, in fact, to which Mr. Morrison was able to look back with pleasure when he afterwards reflected on his administration was that, daily, there was held in his office a pretty united, earnest prayer-meeting of one.” Like the founders of the United States Sanitary Commission, the members of the Christian Commission met many rebukes from government officials, and it was some time before they could secure any coöperation from them.<sup>58</sup>

Early in 1863, the affairs of the Commission began to develop more favorably. Rebuffs from those in authority became less frequent and eventually “the approbation and commendation” of the President of the United States and of the higher army officials were secured. The first report issued by the Commission, in February, 1863, stated that “the United States Christian Commission, under full sanction of the President, the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, the Generals commanding the armies of the Union, and the Admirals commanding its squadrons, is prepared to minister, by its own volunteer, unpaid delegates,—Christian gentlemen of the highest respectability,—to the wants, religious and temporal, of every man, on land and on sea, wearing the national uniform.”<sup>59</sup> Already, the report stated, 356 delegates had been sent to work among the soldiers and to preach the gospel; 3691 boxes of stores and publications, valued at \$142,150, had been distributed; aid

<sup>58</sup> Mr. Moss’s “Christian Commission” in *The Nation*, Vol. VI, pp. 214, 215; Moss’s *The Christian Commission* in *The Nation*, Vol. VI, p. 272.

<sup>59</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, pp. 5, 117.

had been given to many thousand sick and wounded soldiers; and many letters had been written and sent for the soldiers to their families and friends.<sup>60</sup>

The aim of the originators and founders of the Christian Commission was to exert a spiritual influence upon the men in the national service. But just as the United States Sanitary Commission had found it essential to undertake the collection and distribution of supplies, so the Christian Commission found it necessary to minister, not only to the spiritual needs, but likewise to the physical needs of the men whom they wished to serve. Thus in February, 1863, the Commission announced that its purpose was "to arouse the Christian Associations and the Christian men and women of the loyal States to such action towards the men in our army and navy, as would be pleasing to the Master; to obtain and direct volunteer labors, and to collect stores and money with which to supply whatever was needed, reading matter, and articles necessary for health not furnished by Government or other agencies, and to give the officers and men of our army and navy the best Christian ministries for both body and soul possible in their circumstances."<sup>61</sup> The Commission did not propose to supersede the regular chaplain system as it then existed in the army and navy, but hoped to coöperate with and aid it.<sup>62</sup> Eight principles, including catholicity, nationality, voluntary service, combination of benefits for body and soul, reliance upon unpaid delegates, personal distribution with personal ministrations, respect for authorities, and coöperation, were adopted as rules to guide the Commission in its undertakings.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>61</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, p. 6.

<sup>62</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> *Second Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1864, pp. 15-21.

## WORK OF THE COMMISSION

The work of the Commission was divided into two general divisions, one including the work carried on at the seat of war and the other the work conducted at home or away from the seat of war. The latter department was under the direction of the Young Men's Christian Associations in places where such organizations were to be found and were willing to assume the duty; otherwise army committees were formed to do the work. The Commission and the many delegates representing it performed the services at the seat of war. The Young Men's Christian Associations and the army committees distributed religious matter and necessary supplies, and relieved and counselled the sick and wounded in the hospitals and camps, besides collecting stores to be forwarded to the men working near the battle lines. The work of supplying religious services, distributing reading matter, religious and otherwise, administering bodily comforts, and promoting intercourse between the soldiers and their families was known as "General Work". The relief and care of the wounded during and after battles, the relief given in parole and convalescent camps, and other emergency relief was designated as "Special Work".<sup>64</sup>

Supplies, upon being collected, were forwarded to headquarters of the Commission established near the field of action, whence they were apportioned to delegates for personal distribution among the soldiers. For work upon the battlefields, a trunk was furnished to each company of three, five, or six delegates, according as conditions demanded, packed with articles for the immediate use of men suffering upon the field. These trunks were taken by the delegates as personal baggage, to insure their being on hand upon the delegates' arrival. In cases of emergency

<sup>64</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission, 1863,* p. 11.

whole car-loads of special stores were bought and gathered together in a very limited time, and sent by express trains to the field of battle. When the Commission's agents were forewarned of a battle an effort was made to have stores sent in advance so that they might be on hand the instant they were needed.<sup>65</sup>

Just as many gratuitous services were granted to the Sanitary Commission by railroads, telegraph companies, and similar agencies, so the Christian Commission was given free transportation for their goods and representatives by the railroads; free service was accorded by telegraph companies; and the best hotels in many cities opened their doors free of charge to the Commission's delegates.<sup>66</sup>

The voluntary service of agents and delegates was a feature of the Commission's policy which was continually emphasized. With the exception of a few paid agents, all services were performed without compensation, thus forming a striking contrast to the Sanitary Commission which preferred paid rather than voluntary help. The men representing the Christian Commission were "ministers, merchants, lawyers, surgeons and others" who "offered their services freely, in numbers ample to distribute all the stores and publications contributed, and all the Commission has had means to purchase."<sup>67</sup> The men were chosen from all denominations so as to minister, without preference, to men of all creeds.<sup>68</sup> Likewise no lines were drawn between the

<sup>65</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, p. 12.

<sup>66</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, pp. 6, 7; *Second Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1864, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>67</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>68</sup> *Second Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1864, pp. 15, 16.

soldiers of different States or sections of the country. All men were treated alike, even the enemy wounded being aided in many cases.<sup>69</sup> The members of the Commission aimed to send their supplies and render their services where the need seemed to them to be greatest, and they guarded carefully against flooding one department of the army with supplies to the neglect of another.<sup>70</sup>

Since all stores and publications distributed by the Commission were taken directly to the soldiers by delegates or those "known by them to be worthy of all confidence", the Commission was assured that all goods would reach their proper destination without being lost or misused. This system of personal distribution by voluntary agents and delegates, aided by the free transportation and communication granted them, permitted the Commission to perform its many and valuable functions with but little outlay of money.<sup>71</sup>

A phase of relief work which is of special interest, since it was proposed by and carried out under the direction of Mrs. Wittenmyer, who played such an important part in the relief work of Iowa, was the establishment and operation of diet kitchens. Special diet kitchens, separate from the general kitchens of the hospitals, were conducted for the benefit of "low diet" patients. These were government kitchens and were controlled and supplied by the medical authorities of the hospitals, except that the Commission furnished certain necessities not furnished by the government and further provided and maintained women to manage them.<sup>72</sup> All patients in the hospitals who were not in

<sup>69</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, p. 13.

<sup>70</sup> *Second Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1864, pp. 15, 16.

<sup>71</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, p. 7.

<sup>72</sup> *Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1865, p. 24.

condition to go to the general table or eat the food prepared in the general kitchens, had their meals ordered by the surgeons from the special diet kitchens.<sup>73</sup> First adopted early in 1864 for the western branch of the army, these diet kitchens proved so successful that in the following year they were extended to the armies in the east.<sup>74</sup>

#### COLLECTION OF STORES

The Christian Commission proceeded in much the same way as the Sanitary Commission had done in its efforts to secure contributions of goods, money, and services. In one of its earliest appeals to the public the Commission wrote: "Let every city, town, and village form and report to us its Army Committee, to hold meetings, collect and forward money and supplies, and to select and recommend men to go as delegates." Although formed by representatives of Young Men's Christian Associations, the Commission emphasized the point that it was unnecessary to belong to such associations in order to assist and help them in their work.<sup>75</sup>

Little money was spent in the effort to interest the people in the activities of the Commission or to secure their aid and coöperation. In an early report of the Commission it is stated that the "Christian men who have gone without pay as delegates to relieve, supply, and instruct the soldier, in hospital and camp, have just as freely told the story of their work, and of the soldier's necessities, which has served to interest the people, and secure their prayers, money, and stores better than any paid agency could possibly have

<sup>73</sup> *Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1865, p. 44.

<sup>74</sup> *Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1865, p. 24; *Fourth Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1866, p. 16.

<sup>75</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, pp. 122, 123.

done".<sup>76</sup> The second annual report again emphasized this system of raising supplies, and the remark was made that "there never was such another agency to move the people." The report added, however, that in "two or three instances indeed, returned delegates, under the pressure of constant and earnest demand for them to address public meetings, had been retained", but their compensation was only "necessary sustenance", and this was provided for largely by special contributions. Without any urging, many communities had organized committees which acted as local Christian Commissions, while the people had "sent in their money and stores to these various centers of supply, which in turn have poured in their streams into the general work of the Commission." Twice, on Thanksgiving days, large contributions had been made for the Commission, the second contribution alone amounting to nearly ninety thousand dollars. Not only did the Commission choose to perform its work without special agents for raising funds, but it aimed to employ "no outside means, or indirect appliances, combining personal pleasure with public beneficence, to draw money which would not be given directly",<sup>77</sup> a policy which again was almost directly opposite to that pursued by the United States Sanitary Commission and its branches and local societies.

These policies in regard to raising money and supplies operated satisfactorily for the Christian Commission until the third year of its work, when new difficulties were encountered. The interest of the general public was centered in the sanitary fairs which were being held throughout the country, and the people "appeared to be pressed into forgetfulness of the Christian Commission and its wants."

<sup>76</sup> *First Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1863, p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> *Second Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1864, pp. 22, 23.

Some step to overcome this lack of interest had to be taken. Two plans were suggested and both were accepted. An eastern clergyman proposed that in each evangelical congregation there should be formed an auxiliary of the Commission, including, so far as possible, "every man, woman, and child as contributing members". To this was added the idea of uniting the women of the land more firmly with the Commission. The result was a scheme to organize Ladies' Christian Commissions — one in every evangelical congregation — embracing all sexes and all ages, with a membership fee of one dollar a year, to solicit contributions in money and stores and to prepare clothing and delicacies for distribution in the field. A second plan, to take a national subscription on behalf of the Commission, was suggested by a western merchant who gave \$5000 to inaugurate the movement. As a result of this suggestion a meeting was held in Philadelphia at which \$50,000 was raised; \$30,000 was pledged at Pittsburgh, and in many other cities large sums were subscribed.<sup>78</sup>

The good accomplished by the Ladies' Christian Commissions was emphasized in the final report of the Commission. Although they were late in being organized and had only a short time to operate before the war closed, a great deal was accomplished by them. The reports to the central Commission were very incomplete, only two hundred and sixty-six local organizations reporting, of which eighty were in Philadelphia, with the remainder scattered over seventeen States. Nearly \$200,000 was received by the Christian Commission from local agencies.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1865, pp. 18, 19, 20.

<sup>79</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1866, p. 202.

## SUMMARY OF THE WORK OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMISSION

An enumeration, somewhat detailed, of the services rendered by the Commission will help to indicate the exact nature of its activities. For the four years of the war 4859 delegates were commissioned, giving an aggregate of 181,562 days of service. These delegates distributed 95,066 boxes of stores and publications, 1,466,748 Bibles, Testaments, and portions of the scriptures, 1,370,953 hymn and Psalm books, 8,308,052 knapsack books, 296,816 bound library books, 767,861 magazines and pamphlets, 18,126,002 religious newspapers, 39,104,243 pages of tracts, and 8572 "Silent Comforters"; they preached 58,308 sermons; held 77,744 prayer-meetings; and wrote 92,321 letters for sick and disabled soldiers.<sup>80</sup>

The cash receipts of the central and branch offices amounted to \$2,524,512.56; stores distributed were estimated to be worth \$2,839,445.17; the value of the books and literature of all kinds was placed at \$299,576.26; the services of delegates were estimated to be worth \$344,413.69; while the free accommodations granted by railroads, telegraph companies, and similar agencies amounted to \$283,160. The total value of the Commission's work, including cash, stores, and the many services rendered, amounted, according to the Commission's own estimate, to \$6,291,107.68.<sup>81</sup> But the material wants supplied do not measure the full value of the Christian Commission's efforts, for "there were deeper wants than those of the body — other comfort and help to be given besides the physical. The gospel of clean clothes, of food that was not 'hard-tack,' of encouraging words, was but the entering wedge of a

<sup>80</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1866, p. 27.

<sup>81</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1866, p. 28.

higher message, whose proclamation was the Delegate's dearest privilege.'<sup>82</sup>

There can be no doubt that from the work of the Christian Commission great benefits were derived by individual soldiers and by the army as a whole. The nature of these benefits is well stated by a historian in setting forth General Grant's reasons for permitting the Commission's delegates to work within the limits of his army, before they had received any sanction from government authorities. He granted this permission because of his realization "that the distribution of newspapers and books among his fellow-citizens in arms; the presence among them of men and women who revived in their minds the best ideas connected with home; who supplied them with reading matter that called them away from euchre and bluff and corrupting conversation; who set them singing hymns and hearing sermons when they might otherwise have been breaking guard or smuggling whiskey into camp; who nursed and fed men for whose death too often the hospital stewards were waiting with a natural but discouraging impatience; who wrote thousands of letters that brought back to sick men thousands of comforting letters; who, in short, made able-bodied soldiers less disorderly and able-bodied and disabled soldiers more happy and comfortable — such persons, he perceived, were persons that might properly be used by the general of a volunteer army".<sup>83</sup>

### III

#### THE WESTERN SANITARY COMMISSION

##### ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Unlike the United States Sanitary Commission, the Western Sanitary Commission did not find its beginning in any

<sup>82</sup> *The Christian Commission in Lippincott's Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 151.

<sup>83</sup> *Mr. Moss's "Christian Commission"* in *The Nation*, Vol. VI, p. 215.

preconceived and prearranged plan of operation, but "sprang from sudden exigency for relief of suffering".<sup>84</sup> After the battles of Boonville, Carthage, Dug Spring, and Wilson's Creek the sick and wounded soldiers were brought into St. Louis in great numbers and in the absence of any adequate existing accommodations, the city was confronted with the task of developing means by which the men could be cared for.<sup>85</sup> The "House of Refuge", a large, uncompleted structure some four miles from the city had been taken over as a hospital, but as "neither stoves, nor bedsteads, nor beds, nor bedding, nor food, nor nurses, nor anything else" had been provided, much remained to be done before the building was suitable for hospital purposes.<sup>86</sup> Even when this building had been properly equipped, the number of men demanding medical care had become so large that still additional hospitals were a necessity.<sup>87</sup>

To aid in relieving this situation, early in September, 1861, General Frémont appointed a commission of civilians to coöperate with the medical department in obtaining and furnishing buildings for hospital use.<sup>88</sup> The men named as members of the comission, which was designated as the Western Sanitary Commission, were James E. Yeatman, C. S. Greely, J. B. Johnson, George Partridge, and Rev. William G. Eliot, all of St. Louis. The first of these men was a retired Tennessee planter, Greely and Partridge were

<sup>84</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCIVIII, p. 523.

<sup>85</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, p. 288; *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCIVIII, p. 526.

<sup>86</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCIVIII, p. 526.

<sup>87</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, p. 288.

<sup>88</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCIVIII, pp. 526, 527; Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, p. 288.

prosperous merchants, Johnson a physician, and Eliot the pastor of the only Unitarian church in St. Louis.<sup>89</sup> Mr. Yeatman assumed the presidency of the body and devoted his entire time to the work, the remaining members meeting with him daily "except Sunday" for consultation.<sup>90</sup> The members, who served without pay,<sup>91</sup> decided at the first meeting that they would advance the small amount of money needed for office expenses and determined to proceed without the services of a clerk.<sup>92</sup> A little later it was found necessary to employ one man, who "acted as storekeeper, porter and clerk for thirty dollars a month."<sup>93</sup>

With this meager beginning the Commission found itself called upon to perform additional functions, one after another, until ultimately the work, although not quite so broad nor so extensive, corresponded closely to that of the United States Sanitary Commission. It "not only sent surgeons, nurses, and supplies into the field, but strove by hospitals, soldiers' homes, agents, and advisors, to succor the convalescent, aid the injured to return home, and to do, in short, for anyone, Union or Confederate, white or black, free or slave, any service of mercy which he needed." Beginning in St. Louis, the field covered by the Commission gradually spread to the surrounding territory and to neighboring States until soon practically "the whole burden of ministering to the Union (and in some cases to the Confederate) armies in the Mississippi Valley fell upon the West-

<sup>89</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. II, p. 947; Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, p. 290.

<sup>90</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, pp. 289, 290.

<sup>91</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, p. 290.

<sup>92</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 523.

<sup>93</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, p. 291.

ern Sanitary Commission.’’<sup>94</sup> A member of the Commission writing in 1864 said that the organization ‘‘has had, with trifling exceptions, exclusive (sanitary) care of all the armies west of the Mississippi, from the beginning of the war. . . . For the first year of the war, the time of greatest difficulty, it had almost a monopoly in fitting up and supplying hospital steamers and all other Western river work, including supplies to the gunboat flotilla on the Mississippi, and has kept its agents and stores of hospital supplies at every important point in the Western department.’’<sup>95</sup>

The United States Sanitary Commission early recognized the existence of the western organization and at first attempted to absorb it as one of its branches. Dr. J. S. Newberry, the secretary of the Western Department of the United States Commission, was instructed to confer with the Western Commission relative to a union of the two organizations. He met the members of the latter body on September 23, 1861, and submitted to them his proposition, but after due deliberation they rejected it, choosing to remain independent.<sup>96</sup> About the first of November a remonstrance against the work of the Western Sanitary Commission was filed at Washington by the United States Sanitary Commission, requesting the Secretary of War ‘‘to vindicate his own authority’’ by requiring General Frémont to rescind his order, and put the Western Sanitary Commission in ‘‘its proper place of subordination.’’ Secretary Cameron ‘‘had no objection to the Western gentlemen being

<sup>94</sup> Usher’s *A Bibliography of Sanitary Work in St. Louis During the Civil War* in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV, p. 73; Usher’s *The Western Sanitary Commission* in the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, 1908–1909, pp. 219, 220.

<sup>95</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XC VIII, p. 520.

<sup>96</sup> Newberry’s *The U. S. Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi*, p. 18.

as independent as they pleased, so long as they were under the Medical Department." Accordingly he approved the order of General Frémont and gave to the Western Commission the privilege of "extending its labors to the camps and hospitals of any of the Western armies, under the direction of the assistant surgeon-general, Col. R. C. Wood, or the senior medical officer of the Medical Department."<sup>97</sup> The action of the United States Sanitary Commission was probably taken under misapprehension of the real facts and in the later years of the war the two Commissions coöperated on very friendly terms.<sup>98</sup>

#### GENERAL WORK OF THE COMMISSION

Although its work was, on the whole, similar to that of the United States Sanitary Commission, the workers for the Western Commission, because of their position, had their own particular problems to solve. The provision of hospitals, which was their first task, proved to be one of the greatest. Within two months after opening the first hospital, they had five more completely equipped and filled to overflowing. At the end of the war fifteen hospitals had been established in and around St. Louis with accommodations for six thousand patients. Of these the largest, which in two years had received eleven thousand patients, was situated at Jefferson Barracks. In addition to these the Commission joined with the United States Sanitary Commission in founding and equipping ten hospitals in Memphis, Tennessee.<sup>99</sup> "Floating Hospitals" were operated on

<sup>97</sup> *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Series III, Vol. II, p. 947; *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 528.

<sup>98</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 528.

<sup>99</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, pp. 291, 292, 297, 298.

the Mississippi River. These were boats, fitted out as hospitals, which cruised up and down the river so as to be close to the armies which they served. Thirteen such boats, each accommodating from five hundred to a thousand patients, were operated by the Commission. To give service on the immediate field of battle and upon marches, "flying hospitals" or wagons furnished with cots and medical stores were maintained.<sup>100</sup>

The first soldiers' home to be established by the Western Commission was opened in March, 1862, at St. Louis, and during the war housed more than seventy thousand soldiers. Subsequently five additional homes were opened in which as a daily average six hundred guests, mostly invalids and convalescents, were cared for, fitted out with necessities, and sent on to their destinations. Up to December, 1865, the homes altogether had housed, free of charge, 421,616 soldiers, had furnished them 982,592 meals and 410,252 lodgings.<sup>101</sup>

A new problem was faced by the Western Sanitary Commission in dealing with the freedmen and refugees from the southern States. These people became very numerous in St. Louis and the adjacent territory and were often in most urgent need of assistance. Many thousands of white refugees from the South gathered in Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Mississippi, and the Western Commission was the first of the sanitary organizations to undertake systematically to provide for them. Ten centers were established where temporary hospitals and schools were opened and where all possible aid was given to these people. The

<sup>100</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, p. 297; Usher's *The Western Sanitary Commission in the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, 1908-1909, p. 223.

<sup>101</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 520; Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, pp. 292, 300.

Commission "fed, clothed, taught and nursed them, and, so far as practicable, put them to work."<sup>102</sup> The Commission also sent food and clothing for temporary relief of the freedmen, and later founded hospitals for their care and opened schools to educate and prepare them for their new life.<sup>103</sup>

#### COLLECTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SUPPLIES

Not long after the establishment of the Western Sanitary Commission, notices asking for assistance in carrying on its work were inserted in the St. Louis newspapers. In addition a few lines were sent for publication in the *Boston Transcript*, asking the New England women for donations of "knit woolen socks". Such notices continued to be published thereafter about every six months, this being the only means used by the Commission to reach the people of the Nation and secure contributions. No regular system of raising and collecting money and stores was maintained. No local societies were organized as auxiliaries, and no agents were sent out by the Commission to work in its behalf.<sup>104</sup> The Commission was, however, absolutely dependent upon public support for money and supplies, and although the movement which brought this support was "spontaneous and self-directing", it resulted in a "continued, uninterrupted stream of gifts" which kept the Commission's warehouses full and its treasury replenished.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Usher's *A Bibliography of Sanitary Work in St. Louis During the Civil War* in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV, p. 77; Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, p. 300.

<sup>103</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, pp. 298, 299.

<sup>104</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, pp. 523, 524.

<sup>105</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, pp. 523, 524.

Early in the life of the Commission the State legislature of Missouri granted seventy-five thousand dollars for the relief of Missouri troops, which sum was by special arrangement placed in the general fund of the Commission. In January, 1863, several men in Boston raised thirty-five thousand dollars for the Western Commission, and in St. Louis, during the "frozen week" of January, 1864, collections of thirty thousand dollars were made. A New England woman set aside one of the rooms in her house, designating it as the "Missouri Room," in which she received donations for the Western Commission. The supplies which she collected were valued at seventeen thousand dollars, and these, with nearly an equal amount in cash, were forwarded to St. Louis.<sup>106</sup>

At the close of the year 1863 and early in 1864, the funds of the Commission were running low, and in order to increase them it was decided to hold, at St. Louis, a sanitary fair such as had been held in many places by branches of the United States Sanitary Commission. Arrangements were soon made and during May the fair, which proved a great success, was held. The net proceeds amounted to \$554,591 — the result of contributions of money and goods from all over the United States and abroad.<sup>107</sup>

Like the other Sanitary Commissions, the western organization was granted railroad and transportation facilities and many similar services, free of charge, which meant a great saving in expenses. "From St. Louis to New Orleans, from Pea Ridge to Chattanooga, by every commander of the Department of the Missouri and every general in the field, by the head of the Western Medical Department and

<sup>106</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, pp. 522, 523.

<sup>107</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, pp. 309-314.

the various medical directors, by quartermasters and transportation-masters, and all other officers, the Commission and its agents have been most kindly recognized, and have scarcely ever solicited a favor in vain.”<sup>108</sup>

In the performance of its work, the Western Sanitary Commission, whenever possible, coöperated with the United States Sanitary Commission and its branches, with the Christian Commission, and with local Aid Societies.<sup>109</sup> No attention was paid to State or sectional lines. As expressed at that time, it was “the soldier of the Union . . . . not the citizen of Missouri or Massachusetts” whom the Commission served. Supplies and contributions came from all sources and they were distributed upon the same broad basis.<sup>110</sup> Donations came from all the northern States, especially from Michigan and the Northwest; but Philadelphia, New York, Providence, and Boston were specially lavish in their gifts. “By January, 1864, more than two hundred thousand dollars in cash had been received, of which St. Louis and Missouri had donated more than half; while the distant States of California and Massachusetts had each contributed fifty thousand dollars.”<sup>111</sup>

The outlay of the Western Sanitary Commission in money and goods for the years 1862 and 1863 averaged \$50,000 per month. This money went towards the prevention and relief of suffering, with a reduction of only one and one-half per cent to cover the total cost of salaries, agencies, and

<sup>108</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 521.

<sup>109</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 528.

<sup>110</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, pp. 522, 523.

<sup>111</sup> Anderson’s *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, pp. 295, 296.

distribution.<sup>112</sup> From the beginning to the close of its activities \$3,500,000 worth of supplies and nearly \$1,000,000 more in cash were received by the Commission.<sup>113</sup> "No sanitary work undertaken during the war, East or West, North or South, was more efficiently performed than that directed from St. Louis", says a recent writer. "And all this vast amount of work was performed, millions of dollars' worth of supplies distributed and used, thousands of meals provided for the hungry, hundreds of thousands of sick and homeless men temporarily lodged, by an organization of some half a dozen private citizens of St. Louis, none of whom were paid or had had previous experience."<sup>114</sup>

## IV

## THE ORGANIZATION OF RELIEF WORK IN IOWA

The people of Iowa were not behind the citizens of other sections of the country in shouldering their share of the burdens occasioned by the outbreak of the Civil War. No sooner had the men of the State begun to answer the call to arms than those who remained behind commenced to plan and to work for the purpose of making army life as agreeable as possible.

## THE KEOKUK LADIES' AID SOCIETY

The first movements were unorganized, separate communities attempting to make provision for their own troops. Large quantities of supplies were collected and sent by in-

<sup>112</sup> *Loyal Work in Missouri* in *The North American Review*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 521.

<sup>113</sup> Anderson's *The Story of a Border City During The Civil War*, p. 296.

<sup>114</sup> Usher's *A Bibliography of Sanitary Work in St. Louis During the Civil War* in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV, p. 73.

dividuals directly to their friends and relatives in camps and hospitals; and in many places local soldiers' aid societies were organized to supply the company or regiment which represented those particular localities. An effort to systematize and unite the work of the whole State was first made by the women of Keokuk, under the leadership of Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer. The Keokuk society, organized during the summer of 1861, at once entered upon the work in behalf of the men who were serving their country in the army.<sup>115</sup> One of the first steps taken by the organization was to send Mrs. Wittenmyer, the corresponding secretary, to visit Iowa soldiers in their camps and ascertain their greatest needs in order that the work at home might be directed along the most efficient lines. The first of August found Mrs. Wittenmyer in St. Joseph, Missouri, whither she had gone to visit the Second Iowa Regiment; but not finding the regiment there, she followed it to St. Louis.<sup>116</sup> That the women at Keokuk were busy is shown by the report of an entertainment given during August by the Aid Society in order to raise funds for their work, at which the net proceeds amounted to something over one hundred and fifty dollars.<sup>117</sup>

Once the work at Keokuk was well under way, the Aid Society reached out in an effort to obtain the coöperation of the women of the entire State. Soldiers' Aid Societies had already been formed in some other towns and they were urged to work with the Keokuk forces. Where no steps had as yet been taken to launch such enterprises the people were asked to do so. On the thirtieth of August, Mrs. Wittenmyer, acting for the Keokuk organization, sent a letter to the women of Des Moines inviting them "to effect a similar

<sup>115</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 6, 1863.

<sup>116</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), August 5, 1861.

<sup>117</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), August 19, 1861.

organization, and co-operate with them in supplying articles of comfort to the Iowa Volunteers, and especially in providing their hospitals with such comforts and conveniences as the Government does not provide.”<sup>118</sup> Early in September a Keokuk paper carried a message addressed “To the Ladies of Iowa”, with a request that it be copied by papers throughout the State. In this address the women were urged to organize societies in their respective districts and work in conjunction with the Keokuk society. It explained that the members of the latter organization would be in direct communication with the State troops and could keep their auxiliaries posted concerning all items of interest. Packages were to be sent, express prepaid, to the Soldiers’ Aid Society of Keokuk, whence they would be forwarded free of charge to their destinations.<sup>119</sup>

#### THE ARMY SANITARY COMMISSION

Early in October, Governor Kirkwood “conceived the idea of an organized and united action that should excite and direct the whole work of the State.” The existing situation, the Governor thought, “was attended with so much expense and large losses of goods, and was so uncertain in its operations” as to need strengthening.<sup>120</sup> Accordingly on October 10, 1861, he sent the following letter to Rev. A. J. Kynett of Lyons:

I have observed with pleasure that at various points in this State voluntary associations are being organized with a view to provide our sick and wounded soldiers with articles essential to their comfort and not furnished by the Government, while in hospitals. In order to encourage the formation of such societies and make them efficient, I request that you will form such societies in the various

<sup>118</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, September 14, 1861.

<sup>119</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), September 16, 1861.

<sup>120</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, p. 3.

communities in the State, and perfect a system by which contributions thus made will reach those of our citizen soldiers who may be in need. I desire that societies already formed, and hereafter organized, will co-operate with you in your mission.

Mr. Kynett, after consulting friends who were interested in the movement, recommended the creation of a State Sanitary Commission, similar to the United States Sanitary Commission. To avoid the loss of time and to eliminate the necessary expense attached to the holding of a convention of citizens of the State, and since both the United States Sanitary Commission and the Western Sanitary Commission had been established by appointment, Mr. Kynett advised that the Governor appoint the members of the Iowa Commission. Accordingly on October 13, 1861, Governor Kirkwood named as members J. C. Hughes, M. D., of Keokuk, president; Rev. Geo. F. Magoun of Lyons, secretary; Hiram Price of Davenport, treasurer; Rev. A. J. Kynett of Lyons, corresponding secretary and general agent; Hon. Elijah Sells of Des Moines; Rev. Bishop Lee of Davenport; Hon. George G. Wright of Keosauqua; Rev. Bishop Smyth of Dubuque; Hon. Caleb Baldwin of Council Bluffs; Rev. G. B. Jocelyn of Mt. Pleasant; Hon. Wm. F. Coolbaugh of Burlington; Ezekiel Clark of Iowa City; and Hon. Lincoln Clark of Dubuque. In his letter appointing these men, the Governor styled the new organization the Army Sanitary Commission for the State of Iowa, but it was usually referred to thereafter as the Iowa Sanitary Commission.<sup>121</sup>

Mr. Kynett at once commenced the organization of local societies. On the 25th of October he issued through the press an appeal to the women of Iowa in behalf of the sick and wounded soldiers, in which he stated that, although the United States Sanitary Commission had served the East very effectively it did "not seem to have been intended" to

<sup>121</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission, 1864*, p. 3.

bring relief to the sufferings of the men in the armies of the West. There was, however, great need for relief, as some of the Iowa regiments had already been declared unfit for service; and it was the plan and purpose of the State Commission to see that the soldiers from Iowa were cared for. The appeal recommended that societies be formed immediately "in every town, village and neighborhood in the State"; that committees be appointed to solicit subscriptions of cash and supplies "from every loyal citizen"; and that a portion of time in each week be set apart for the making of such articles as might be needed. A uniform constitution for such societies was proposed, and the secretary of each local organization was requested to report to the State Commission, as soon as organized and each month thereafter, the amount of money in the treasury and the number and value of articles on hand. Each society was instructed to hold its money and supplies subject only to the order of the president and secretary of the State Commission to be forwarded from time to time as directed by them.<sup>122</sup>

#### TWO FORCES IN THE FIELD

Soon after the issue of this call by Mr. Kynett of the Army Sanitary Commission there was sounded the first note of the discord which later hampered the sanitary work of the State. The call had made no reference to those local societies already at work, nor to the broader activities of the Keokuk organization, the supporters of which resented this neglect and voiced their criticism of the new body through the public press. An article appeared in one of the Keokuk papers, reviewing the accomplishments already achieved by the women of Keokuk and the State, and containing a severe

<sup>122</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 1, 1861.

criticism of the Army Sanitary Commission. For three or four months, the article stated, the women had been devoting their time and energy to organizing Soldiers' Aid Societies and collecting and preparing sanitary goods. As a result of these efforts, societies had gradually been formed all over the State and a general interest created in the work, until at the time when the Army Commission was established the local aid associations were "in very fair working order, and, in the hands of the benevolent women who initiated them and rendered them effective, gave promise and assurance of being equal to the work they had taken in hand." Under the patronage of these societies delegates had been sent to the hospitals in Missouri and at Cairo, where they investigated the conditions and wants of the Iowa soldiers and reported the situation by correspondence to the Aid Societies of the State. As a result "very considerable supplies of all articles needed" were forwarded to the hospitals in Missouri. "The women were all earnestly interested and were doing up matters in their own way, without sounding a trumpet before them or magnifying their efforts by eliciting the services of the Honorables of our State in order to blazon them abroad."

Then, continued the article, "an idea seems to have struck our State authorities. This thing must be stopped; there is a great deal of glory running to waste in this matter; and we must make haste to bottle it up for distribution amongst our HONORABLES. Besides, there is a chance for salaries and fees in carrying out this benevolent measure which may be parceled out to the wealthy men of the State, and then there are printing jobs for which the State can pay and thereby secure the services of the editors of Iowa to puff our Honorable and glorify our tardy benevolence to our sick and wounded soldiers.

"A Sanitary Commission has been constituted, two Bishops, two or three Reverends, three or four Honorables and three or four Bankers constitute the corporators and ostensible members of this Commission and they are to take control and direction of the entire subject matter." In issuing their appeal to the women of Iowa, declared the article, the members of the Commission ignored "the existence of any Soldiers' Aid Societies and scold because nothing has been done in the State by the ladies to relieve the sick and wounded soldiers. And we presume that the gentlemen constituting that Commission have taken so little interest in the subject that they were substantially in entire ignorance of what has been done." In closing, the article referred to the Army Sanitary Commission as being "without a parallel in the annals of peace or war in the history of the world, ancient or modern" in that not a single medical man was named as a member of the body.<sup>123</sup>

Such a criticism represented a prejudiced view rather than the actual circumstances. It is true that the appeal issued by the Army Sanitary Commission did not refer to the societies already in operation, but in the letter of Governor Kirkwood, in which Mr. Kynett was asked to systematize the sanitary work of the State, reference was made to the societies which were then under way. Since the Army Sanitary Commission was created for the purpose of collecting and distributing supplies, and not for the rendering of preventive service as was the United States Sanitary Commission, it does not seem essential that the medical profession should have been represented; and yet the president of the Commission, Dr. J. C. Hughes, was at the time Surgeon-General for the State of Iowa.

As a matter of fact another representative of the press

<sup>123</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), November 25, 1861.

of Keokuk expressed a more favorable view of the Commission. This writer announced the appointment of the Commission, giving as its duty the investigation of "all things connected with the condition, position and general welfare of the regiments". The success of the Commission was also predicted by the writer. "It seems to be expected", he declared, "that this movement will have important results in its influence upon soldiers, officers, and the State authorities."<sup>124</sup>

Thus the formation of the Army Sanitary Commission, instead of centralizing all the relief work of the State under a single head, introduced a new agency without absorbing the organization already in existence at Keokuk under the leadership of Mrs. Wittenmyer. As a result there were for the next ten months two distinct organizations in the State working for the same cause, but not always working in harmony. Soldiers' Aid Societies were organized in nearly all the large cities and towns, some sending their contributions to the soldiers through the Commission and others through the Ladies' Aid Society of Keokuk.<sup>125</sup>

That Mrs. Wittenmyer and the Keokuk society had exerted considerable influence over the State is shown by the reports from various local branches. The reports made by Mrs. Wittenmyer upon the condition of the camps and the needs of the soldiers were sent over the entire State and brought many returns. The first report of the Cedar Rapids Soldiers' Aid Society stated that the women of that city had sent their first box of stores on November 23rd "to the parent Society at Keokuk". The report also contained the following statement:

<sup>124</sup> *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), November 4, 1861.

<sup>125</sup> *Anamosa Eureka*, November 22, 1861; Newberry's *The U. S. Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi*, p. 239.

We know that these articles will reach those for whom they are intended as the Keokuk Society is in correspondence with the proper authorities at the hospitals and has arrangements for sending them to the places where they are most needed.

We are in correspondence with the agent of that Society, who has lately returned from a visit to the hospitals, and are thereby directed what way to make our labors most effective.<sup>126</sup>

Early in December the Council Bluffs Society, which had been in operation since August under the name of the Mite Society, held a meeting to consider the organization of an auxiliary to the State Sanitary Commission. A proposition to merge the Mite Society into a society to assist the Army Sanitary Commission was presented and defeated. It was decided to continue the Mite Society as formerly conducted, except that future proceeds were to be sent to the society at Keokuk "for the benefit of all the regiments, instead of remitting direct to the 4th, as heretofore".<sup>127</sup>

The importance of relief work among the soldiers was recognized by Adjutant General Baker, as is shown by the following statement from his report of 1861:

More soldiers are lost by death from disease, by sickness in the Hospitals, by discharges from service on account of disability, occasioned by exposure in camp, and on the march, and for the want of sufficient protection and proper care, than by deaths and wounds on the battle field.

Anything and everything that can be done for the benefit of the soldier, to make him comfortable on the march, in the camp, or in the hospital, are of the highest importance, and should be promptly attended to by National and State Legislators.<sup>128</sup>

Three days after the Army Sanitary Commission had issued its appeal to the people of Iowa, asking for coöperation, the Adjutant General appointed a committee to visit the Iowa volunteers wherever they might be found, to report

<sup>126</sup> *The Cedar Valley Times* (Cedar Rapids), December 5, 1861.

<sup>127</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, August 24, December 7, 1861.

<sup>128</sup> *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa*, 1861, pp. 5, 6.

upon their sanitary condition, and to ascertain their needs. The men composing the committee were Surgeon-General Hughes, president of the Sanitary Commission, and James J. Lindley and George H. Parker of Davenport. These men set out immediately to visit the Iowa regiments stationed in Illinois and Missouri. A careful survey was made of the conditions surrounding all the Iowa soldiers and a full report was made to the Adjutant General. Although this committee was created by order of the Adjutant General, it was very generally considered as an agent of the Sanitary Commission. In many cases the press of the period referred to its work as a part of that of the State Commission. This idea was probably due to the fact that Surgeon-General Hughes, president of the Commission, was chairman of the committee.<sup>129</sup>

In November, 1861, Mrs. Wittenmyer visited the hospitals in the West as agent for the Keokuk society. Upon her return she made a report to the women of Iowa, telling of the poor condition of the troops and giving suggestions for more effective work.<sup>130</sup> Chief among her recommendations was that two experienced women nurses should be sent to each regiment to assist in caring for the sick and wounded. She criticised the work of the Army Sanitary Commission, complaining that "some of the Surgeons are intemperate, lacking in moral character, overbearing, and exhibiting but little concern for the comfort and cleanliness of the sick."<sup>131</sup> Some of the surgeons, she declared, would "best secure the interest of themselves and their fellow-men by *resigning immediately.*"<sup>132</sup> People were urged to

<sup>129</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 1, 1861; *Report of the Adjutant General of Iowa*, 1861, pp. 481-487.

<sup>130</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, November 30, 1861.

<sup>131</sup> *Anamosa Eureka*, December 13, 1861.

<sup>132</sup> *The Cedar Valley Times* (Cedar Rapids), December 5, 1861.

forward their contributions to the Aid Society at Keokuk, from whence they would be taken immediately to the place of greatest need.<sup>133</sup>

Towards the close of November Mrs. Wittenmyer again set out to visit the troops in the field, this time going to Missouri and Illinois, where she distributed supplies valued at \$785, which were not nearly sufficient to relieve the great destitution existing among the soldiers. The report of the Keokuk Ladies' Aid Society for the period from November 15 to December 15, 1861, again suggested that women all over the State should organize societies and coöperate with the women of Keokuk, since the latter had the advantage of being situated on the Mississippi River and through their corresponding secretary kept in close touch with the needs of the army. The report acknowledged the receipt of supplies from Council Bluffs, Warren, Bentonsport, Des Moines, Indian Prairie, Muscatine, Davenport, Cedar Rapids, and Dubuque.<sup>134</sup>

Upon her return from visiting the hospitals at Helena and Vicksburg in March, Mrs. Wittenmyer was asked by Governor Kirkwood for a report on the conditions which she had found to exist. The condition of most of the Iowa troops she reported as being "very unfavorable". The absence of vegetables in the food supply had resulted "in scurvy, debility and a general depreciation of the strength" of the forces and it was urged that steps be taken to supply the men with "vegetables, stimulants and antiscorbutics." The articles most needed were "potatoes, onions, sour-kraut, corn meal, pickles, dried fruit, cranberries, molasses, soda crackers, toasted rusk, butter, eggs, condiments and stimulants.—Cider vinegar would also be acceptable."

<sup>133</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), November 25, 1861.

<sup>134</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), December 2, 23, 1861.

Upon receiving this report the Governor appealed to the State to supply these necessities, stating that the report of Mrs. Wittenmyer had been more than corroborated by other reliable testimony. He proposed that "every locality see to the good work through their own local agencies, and do it at once", and directed that goods from any part of Iowa put on board any of the lines of transportation, and addressed to Mrs. Wittenmyer, in care of Partridge and Company of St. Louis, would be sure to go where most needed, all charges being paid by the government.<sup>135</sup>

The report of the Keokuk organization for June, 1862, showed that goods had been received from Salem, Bentonsport, Keosauqua, Kirkville, Des Moines, and Denmark, which indicated that the Keokuk society was receiving the support of many local societies.<sup>136</sup>

Early in May, 1862, a call was issued for the local Aid Societies of the State to send delegates to a convention to be held at Davenport on the 28th, in connection with a meeting of the Army Sanitary Commission. At that time but little interest in relief work was manifested in the State, and it was the purpose of this convention to awaken a greater response. The call for the convention was distributed in circular form and through the newspapers, so as to cover the whole State, but the attendance was small, only the counties of Des Moines, Louisa, Scott, Clinton, Dubuque, Jackson, and Delaware being represented. The Iowa Soldiers' Relief Association was formed with Col. William B. Allison of Dubuque, president; John Collins, vice president; and D. N. Richardson and Edward Russell, secretaries. Mr. Kynett made a full report of the work of the Army Sanitary Commission and requested the convention

<sup>135</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 507-511.

<sup>136</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), June 25, 1862.

to establish an executive committee to have control of the business of the Commission. It was hoped that by thus giving the people a part in the direction of the work, their interest would be greater. The convention, however, declined to take such action, but passed a resolution expressing their confidence in the Commission, stating that they considered it indispensable and recommending all the Soldiers' Aid Societies in Iowa to "assist and facilitate its operation."

The report given at the convention by Mr. Kynett showed that supplies and stores for the army, contributed by Soldiers' Aid Societies of the State, had been distributed by the Army Sanitary Commission to the amount of \$18,600, in addition to \$589.66 in cash which had been received. Before the convention adjourned a committee on hospitals, consisting of Dr. S. O. Edwards, Rev. A. J. Kynett, and John G. Foote, was elected and an address to the people of Iowa was sent out by a committee composed of Rev. R. W. Keeler, Hiram Price, and Dr. J. Cleaves. The address stated the purpose of the Commission and described what it had accomplished. It pointed out that while several societies, such as those at Keokuk, Dubuque, and Davenport, had done much to relieve the wants of the soldiers, they had evidently "labored under disadvantages to which they would not have been subjected, had they operated" in connection with the regularly authorized State Commission. A recommendation was made that all local Aid Societies work through the Army Sanitary Commission. The *Muscatine Journal* in commenting upon the convention concluded after a careful examination of the proceedings "that it appears to have been a very lame affair."<sup>137</sup>

<sup>137</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1864, p. 19; *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), July 9, 1862; *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, June 8, 1862.

## UNION OF THE TWO FORCES

During the first week in July, 1862, upon returning from a six weeks tour among Iowa regiments in Tennessee, Mrs. Wittenmyer called a convention to be held at Davenport to devise a plan for uniting the relief agencies of the State. The result was the appointment of a delegation, including Mrs. Wittenmyer, to request the Governor to appoint someone to assist her in her work — someone who might act as agent of all the sanitary interests in the State, and go into the field to take charge of supplies and assist in their distribution. A few days after the close of the convention, when speaking before the Iowa City Ladies' Aid Society, Mrs. Wittenmyer described the relation which then existed between the Army Sanitary Commission and the Aid Societies of the State. They had not been coöperating thus far, she said, and while many of the contributions from the principal towns of the State appeared in the Commission's report as having been sent out by its auxiliaries, they were in fact sent to her to be distributed. Mrs. Wittenmyer further stated that while the Commission received funds from the State, they kept no agent in the field, while she had more work than she could do and received no compensation in any way. She was recognized by both State and Federal governments as a sanitary agent; had free conveyance for herself and goods; and enjoyed the confidence and assistance of the General Medical Directors.<sup>138</sup>

As a result of the Davenport convention the opposing factions seem to have agreed upon a plan of coöperation. In a letter from Mrs. Wittenmyer, the public was informed that the Iowa Army Sanitary Commission and the Ladies Soldiers' Aid Societies had united their efforts, and that

<sup>138</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), July 12, 1862. The Iowa City Ladies' Aid Society voted their confidence in Mrs. Wittenmyer and decided to continue to distribute their goods through her organization.

thereafter the correspondence would be carried on by Mr. Kynett, corresponding secretary of the State Commission and Miss L. Knowles, corresponding secretary of the Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society of Keokuk.<sup>139</sup>

In August, 1862, Governor Kirkwood assigned Lieutenant Colonel Ira M. Gifford of Davenport, one of his special aids, to the duty of looking after the wants of the Iowa soldiers. Gifford, who had already been in the field and was acquainted with the conditions and needs of the troops, was to visit the camps for the purpose of distributing stores and caring for the general comfort of the soldiers. According to the Governor's instructions he was to coöperate with or act as an authorized agent of the "different Sanitary Commissions, Aid Societies, or other benevolent associations throughout the State, having in view the relief of our citizen soldiery."<sup>140</sup> A law was passed on September 11th, authorizing the Governor to appoint two or more agents, one of whom was to be Mrs. Wittenmyer, as sanitary agents to visit the troops in the field for the purpose of furnishing special relief.<sup>141</sup> For some time Mrs. Wittenmyer was the only State agent in the field, and it was not until early in 1863 that Dr. Ennis of Lyons, was named by the Governor to work with her. He was later succeeded by Mr. John Clark of Cedar Rapids, who served for three or four months, followed by Dr. A. S. Maxwell of Davenport. They spent their time among the men in camps and hospitals, where they acted as agents of the various organizations, although they were paid by the State. A big field was open to them and their labors were "well received in the army, and their

<sup>139</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), August 6, 1862.

<sup>140</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 503.

<sup>141</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1862, pp. 47, 48.

efforts in behalf of our sick and wounded soldiers have proved invaluable.”<sup>142</sup>

For about a year the various factions continued to co-operate. There were many demands for fresh vegetables because of threatened attacks of scurvy. At Harrison’s Landing, where some Iowa soldiers were in camp, ten cents was the price of a single onion, so great was the demand for these vegetables.<sup>143</sup> At the soldiers’ hospital at Keokuk there were over thirteen hundred patients from many States and they were constantly in need of supplies.<sup>144</sup> Mrs. Wittenmyer visited the regiments in Arkansas and reported that there were four thousand soldiers sick and unprovided for.<sup>145</sup> A letter from Governor Kirkwood to State Agent John Clark, written near the close of the year 1862, stated that Mr. Gifford had just returned from Missouri and reported a deplorable condition among the troops at Springfield. The Governor ordered Clark to stay in Missouri as long as necessary in order to see that the soldiers were given proper care. “See the Medical Director, Gen. Curtis, Gen. Herron”, he directed. “You need not be backward or mealy-mouthed in discussing the state of affairs, and in cursing everyone who wont do his duty. Talk right hard, and have our boys cared for.”<sup>146</sup>

In August, 1863, Mr. Kynett recommended to the Governor that a branch of the Iowa Army Sanitary Commission be established at Dubuque, to direct the work in the northern part of the State. The Governor followed this suggestion and appointed Mrs. P. H. Conger, Mrs. J. Clement, and

<sup>142</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1864, p. 200; *The State Press* (Iowa City), August 9, 1862.

<sup>143</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), August 9, 1862.

<sup>144</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), October 15, 1862.

<sup>145</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, September 1, 1863.

<sup>146</sup> Lathrop’s *The Life and Times of Samuel J. Kirkwood*, p. 235.

Mrs. S. Root to take charge of the branch. All towns west and northwest of Dubuque were requested to send their contributions to Dubuque, from whence they were shipped to the central depots with less delay and fewer mistakes.<sup>147</sup>

## V

## ATTEMPTS AT UNIFICATION OF RELIEF AGENCIES

From the beginning of the relief work in Iowa, many complaints concerning the work of the various agencies were made and circulated by soldiers and others who visited them in their camps. Soldiers wrote letters home stating that they never received supplies which were supposed to have been sent; and the charge was frequently made that such goods were either used by the army officials and men higher up or were given to their favorites. Such charges did much to discourage donors and caused many people to ignore the State organizations and endeavor to send their donations directly to the soldiers.

## COMPLAINTS CONCERNING RELIEF WORK

Early in the year 1863 Father Emonds of Iowa City visited the Catholic soldiers in the hospitals with a view to administering relief. In a letter from Arkansas he charged that Mrs. Wittenmyer had tried to sell butter and eggs to the Sisters of Charity, who were caring for a great number of sick and wounded soldiers, and when they would not buy she refused them sanitary supplies, although there was great need for them. Mrs. Wittenmyer answered that there was no foundation for such charges; that she had never offered to sell butter or eggs or anything else; and

<sup>147</sup> Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission, 1866, p. 7; Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times, October 23, 1863.

that she had never refused to give the Sisters sanitary stores. Father Emonds did not drop the matter, but in a second letter reiterated his previous charges. He declared that Mrs. Wittenmyer had declined to give aid to the Sisters' hospital at Memphis, when the Sisters refused to buy butter and eggs. Furthermore, he said that Mrs. Wittenmyer had furnished military stores to the Third Iowa Cavalry only after they had bought a liberal share of butter and eggs from her. When the Captain had asked how she could sell these articles, she explained that there was a slight margin of profit which went to the Sanitary Commission. Father Emonds declared that many of the Iowa regiments never received "a cent's worth of sanitary stores", and many did not know who Mrs. Wittenmyer was.<sup>148</sup>

A Chicago paper stated in June, 1863, that "the many favors of our Iowa women", about which so much was written in the newspapers were never received by the Iowa troops. The supplies were either given to favorites or someone was "practicing rascality for their own benefit." The writer advised that in the future supplies be sent personally or kept at home and used for the benefit of soldiers' families.<sup>149</sup> In March, 1863, the *Muscatine Journal* contained a notice that "as there are so many scoundrels in the hospitals . . . . the ladies will send some one in charge of the articles, to see them properly used."<sup>150</sup>

On the other hand, many letters were written by men in the army denying the misuse of sanitary stores and praising the work of the women at home. One Iowa soldier, in writing on the subject, gave as his opinion that the Aid Societies were supplying all the hospitals alike as far as possible,

<sup>148</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), February 7, March 14, 28, 1863.

<sup>149</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), June 27, 1863.

<sup>150</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, March 6, 1863.

and although improper use might be made of some of the stores, sufficient good was being accomplished by the sanitary work "to encourage all its friends to give it all the support they can."<sup>151</sup> A letter written by General Grenville M. Dodge in answer to a criticism of the relief work of the State can probably be accepted as a true representation of the actual conditions. General Dodge stated that he had had command of many of the Iowa regiments, and that very few regiments had left the State with which he had not come in contact. He declared that of all the regiments which he had observed he had not seen one that "did not receive great and lasting benefit from the noble efforts of the Ladies of Iowa through the Sanitary Commission." Moreover, General Dodge had met most of the field agents of the Commission and was positive that they were honest. They had worked long and hard, he said, and could never be repaid for the good which they had done.<sup>152</sup>

Undoubtedly a large quantity of the contributions sent to the armies never reached their destinations, and thus it was often assumed that they had been misused. One explanation was that many times donations were sent by river, by express, or by freight directly to hospitals, officers, or private soldiers. As there were no government permits or persons to vouch for them, these contributions were often stopped enroute and confiscated by United States officers employed to prevent smuggling. Goods were in some cases sent out marked as sanitary goods when intended for speculators or for the Confederate forces, and this fact led to the seizure of all goods not properly vouched for. Again, many things were sent by express and the charges were so high that the men refused to accept them. Large amounts of

<sup>151</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, August 7, 1863.

<sup>152</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, September 25, 1863.

sanitary stores collected in express offices and depots because they were never delivered to the camps, and the soldiers receiving no notice that they were at the office, never called for them and they were finally sold at auction.<sup>153</sup>

Mrs. Wittenmyer pointed out that it was not surprising that complaints should arise, when consideration was given to the large number of troops in the field and the comparatively small supply of goods furnished for their use. The demand for sanitary stores had always greatly exceeded the supply, and the absence of such articles as the Commission furnished was often taken as evidence that they had been misused before reaching the soldiers. Furthermore, potatoes, onions, fruit, and pickles were sometimes furnished by the commissaries when conditions were favorable and hence, when such things were furnished by the Sanitary Commission, the soldiers often supposed them to be government goods.<sup>154</sup>

#### RELATION OF IOWA ORGANIZATIONS TO NATIONAL COMMISSIONS

The Iowa Army Sanitary Commission had not been long in operation before it realized the impracticability of attempting to maintain separate relief service for the Iowa soldiers, and almost from the first it coöperated with the Federal commissions. For the first year the Iowa Commission operated through the Western Sanitary Commission, for the reason that most of the Iowa soldiers were located west of the Mississippi, in the territory covered by the Western Commission. Moreover, the stores could be sent from Iowa to St. Louis by the Northern Line Packet Company, free of charge. When navigation was closed, however, it was necessary to turn to other channels of distribution, and the Iowa Commission then placed itself in the relation of

<sup>153</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, September 15, 1863.

<sup>154</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1864, pp. 201, 202.

a branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, through which it thereafter operated. Supplies were shipped to Chicago and from there were sent out, under the care of agents, free of charge on all railroads and on river boats furnished by the government and devoted exclusively to sanitary work. The United States Sanitary Commission made no distinctions along State lines, but treated all soldiers alike, since they were all engaged in a single common cause — the preservation of the Union. To coöperate with the United States Sanitary Commission, said the *Dubuque Times*, was "the only feasible manner for the people of Iowa to act".<sup>155</sup>

Mrs. Wittenmyer, on the other hand, although supposed to be working with the Army Sanitary Commission, seemed to favor distribution through the Western Sanitary Commission at St. Louis, and with Mr. Maxwell, the only other State agent at that time, was coöperating with the latter association as far as possible. The attitude of Mrs. Wittenmyer tended to favor the personal distribution of supplies directly to the Iowa soldiers. Although the Western Sanitary Commission put all goods into a single fund to be distributed without regard to State lines, yet the territory over which it operated was small and it dealt only with the troops of a few States. Thus goods sent from Iowa were more likely to reach Iowa soldiers through the Western Commission than through the United States Sanitary Commission. The development of this division of opinion concerning methods finally led Mrs. Wittenmyer to issue a call to the women of the State to meet and organize a new association for the handling of relief work.<sup>156</sup> "Sanitary and

<sup>155</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1864, p. 11; *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, September 15, November 3, 1863.

<sup>156</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, p. 24; *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, September 15, 1863.

Relief Societies, Union and Loyal Leagues, Good Templars' Lodges and all other organizations that have lent assistance to the good work" were urged to send delegates.<sup>157</sup>

#### THE IOWA STATE SANITARY COMMISSION

Muscatine was chosen as the meeting place of the convention because it was the "banner war county" and "the Ladies' Aid Society the banner society of the State". The women met on October 7, 1863, the papers referring to the gathering as the convention of the "loyal ladies of Iowa". Soon after the opening of the meeting a discussion arose as to "the precise object of the convention, from which it appeared that many entertained vague and conflicting views in regard to it." One delegate from northern Iowa declared that the society which she represented and other organizations in that region had pledged their aid to the Northwestern Sanitary Commission of Chicago and she thought all the supplies from Iowa should be distributed in that manner. Another woman, from the southern part of the State, took an entirely opposite view and favored the formation of an independent State organization. "She thought Iowa was able to take care of its own soldiers, and that Illinois should not meddle with us, especially when it is a well known fact that Illinois has tried to rob Iowa soldiers of honors won on battle-fields".

Mrs. Wittenmyer then stated her views and offered the following resolution which was adopted: "That we unite ourselves into a State Sanitary Organization, for the purpose of promoting the Sanitary interests of the State and of building an orphan asylum." The new body was named the Iowa State Sanitary Commission, to distinguish it from the Army Sanitary Commission, a constitution and by-laws

<sup>157</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, September 25, 1863.

were adopted, and officers were elected, Mrs. Wittenmyer being made president.<sup>158</sup>

The preamble of the constitution stated that the organization would work to secure "a large and constant supply of Sanitary goods, and a faithful application of the same," and for the establishment of a Soldiers' Orphans' Home. The approaching "Northwestern Fair" at Chicago was discussed and it was decided that any auxiliary societies wishing to contribute to the fair might do so. Mrs. Ely of Cedar Rapids and Mrs. N. H. Brainerd of Iowa City were named as the Iowa committee for the Fair. A resolution was also adopted requesting all the churches to take up collections on Thanksgiving Day for the use of the new Commission, and a committee was appointed to ask the State legislature for further aid.

Mr. Kynett of the Iowa Army Sanitary Commission, who had been referred to as being opposed to the organization proposed by this convention, was present and asked permission to speak, which after some debate was granted. He said it was impracticable to distribute supplies in the field to Iowa soldiers only, and therefore the Commission which he represented, turned their donations over to the Chicago branch of the United States Sanitary Commission. He denied being opposed to the object of the convention, but regretted that the two organizations could not unite their efforts. Mrs. Wittenmyer in reply stated that she had reason to feel offended because of Mr. Kynett's conduct towards her as State agent. She claimed to have higher authority than Mr. Kynett, inasmuch as she was appointed by authority of the legislature, while he was chosen by the Governor. In addition, her appointment was made subsequent to the appointment of Mr. Kynett.<sup>159</sup> There were

<sup>158</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, October 2, 9, 16, 1863.

<sup>159</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, October 16, 1863.

now two organizations in the field once more, both aiming at the same end; and the two Commissions and the two agents seemed "to be in competition".<sup>160</sup>

Such a situation soon caused dissatisfaction among the people who were supporting the relief work. Early in November one of the State papers commented upon the complicated status of sanitary affairs in Iowa, and attributed the unsatisfactory conditions "to the conflicting interests of different organizations having the same object in view." Such inharmonious action, it pointed out, tended "to alienate the sympathies of the people from the good cause which all have in view." It recommended that everyone should support the Iowa State Sanitary Commission.<sup>161</sup> Not only was there general dissatisfaction in the State over the unsatisfactory situation due to the opposition of the various factions, but for some time there had been a growing sentiment that even when there had been but a single organization, it was not so constituted as to secure the desired results. With the added drawback of two competing associations this complaint became more insistent.

Mrs. James Harlan, who had from the beginning of the war been caring for the sick and wounded in the hospitals and upon the battlefields, summed up these defects in a letter to the *Dubuque Times*. Many times she had ministered to the soldiers upon the field "before the smoke of the conflict had passed away", having had permission from the Secretary of War to visit the armies and the field hospitals. Thus she was in a position to observe the work and relative efficiency of the various organizations. In many instances she had distributed goods for them and was in touch with their agents. In this published communication Mrs. Harlan

<sup>160</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, October 16, 1863.

<sup>161</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 6, 1863.

stated that she had at an early period noticed defects in the system of distributing supplies. There was no real head to the system; no home office at which accounts could be kept; no arrangements for the regular visitation of the Iowa regiments; and no business arrangement for the shipping of goods. "The friends of the soldiers in the State," declared Mrs. Harlan, "who have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of stores, demanded a more perfect system."<sup>162</sup> So complicated had become the relief work of the State that Governor Kirkwood himself admitted that the situation was very discouraging. In a letter written on November 13th to Rev. C. G. Truesdell of Davenport, who was later made secretary of the Iowa Sanitary Commission, the Governor wrote that at times he felt "almost disheartened in regard to sanitary affairs. There seems to be so much jealousy and ill will among those engaged in the matter that it discourages me and will I fear discourage those who have been contributing so liberally for this purpose."<sup>163</sup>

## VI

## THE IOWA SANITARY COMMISSION

Many of the most active supporters of the relief work, realizing the difficulties which had arisen and fearing that a complete break-down might result if the existing situation should continue, decided after much consultation to issue a circular, calling a convention with a view to securing greater harmony and efficiency. The call issued early in November, was addressed to "the 'Soldiers' Aid Societies,'

<sup>162</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, December 4, 1863.

<sup>163</sup> *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 4, p. 173; Clark's *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood*, pp. 237, 238.

Societies under the Auspices of the 'Iowa Sanitary Commission,' 'Loyal Leagues,' and 'Soldiers' Christian Commission,' and all other Aid Societies in the State of Iowa", and was signed by sixty-five women of the State, representing nineteen different cities and towns and who in most cases were officers of local aid societies. The names of sixty-eight men, including many of the leading citizens of the State, were appended as approving the proposed convention and hoping for its success.<sup>164</sup>

#### CALL FOR CONVENTION

The following statement from the appeal concerning the status of relief work is interesting and presents a very good summary of the existing conditions :

The undersigned, rejoicing in the success that has attended the efforts of the friends of the soldiers, in sending supplies to the sick, wounded, and destitute in field and hospital, have, nevertheless, observed that their efficiency might be very greatly increased, if perfect harmony, and a better understanding could be secured between the different organizations and leading citizens. One of our State agents advises that all contributions sent from the State should be consigned to some house in St. Louis, where, we learn, they are delivered to the 'Western Sanitary Commission,' are merged into the common stock, and are sent to the army and hospitals, wherever in the judgment of *its agents* supplies are most needed, without reference to their origin. The officers of the Iowa Sanitary Commission advise that all contributions from Iowa should be forwarded to the Chicago Branch of the 'National Sanitary Commission,' and through their officers and agents to the army and hospitals. When sent through this channel, we learn that our goods are, as in the other case, merged into the common stock at Chicago,— and are never afterwards known as Iowa goods. Others, ignoring these arrangements, have been carrying supplies

<sup>164</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, pp. 23–26, *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 6, 1863; *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, November 6, 1863.

directly to the field and hospitals under permits from the Secretary of War.

And others, of high social position and commanding influence, of undoubted benevolence and large means, have stood aloof from all organizations and individual efforts, believing that selfish motives and personal interests have promoted too many of those who have been most active in these enterprises. On these accounts many of those, the most efficient at the beginning of the war, have become lukewarm, and many societies have suspended operations.<sup>165</sup>

In view of this situation it was proposed that a convention, made up of delegates from all organizations in the State contributing to the relief work, should be held at Des Moines commencing on November 18, 1863.

The purposes of the convention were stated under twelve separate heads: (1) to devise means to secure harmony among the relief agencies within the State; (2) to consider the question of whether supplies should be forwarded to the Western Sanitary Commission, or to the United States Sanitary Commission, or directly to the armies in the field; (3) to consider the advisability of establishing a central depot within the State; (4) to consider the increased efficiency which might be secured by the appointment of an agent to travel within the State, thus permitting the regular State agents to spend their whole time in the field; (5) to decide whether it would be advisable to ask for greater aid from the legislature or to sever, as far as practicable, all connections with the State government and rely solely upon the generosity of the people; (6) to discuss whether women or men made the more efficient agents for carrying goods "near the enemy's lines, and other exposed positions"; (7) to consider the possible advantages of employing women nurses in the hospitals; (8) to devise means to secure "a regular, as well as constant supply of hospital goods"; (9)

<sup>165</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 6, 1863.

to devise an adequate system of accounting for goods and "securing care and fidelity on the part of the agents entrusted" with supplies and money; (10) to discuss the necessity of paying salaries to the agents; (11) to undertake plans to provide for the comfort and welfare of the families of the soldiers, especially the widows and orphans; (12) "to consider such other pertinent business" as might be presented at the convention. Each local society was requested to send, if possible, from two to five delegates, and it was suggested that men as well as women be admitted to honorary seats on the floor of the convention.<sup>166</sup>

#### PROCEEDINGS OF CONVENTION

Mrs. James Harlan and Mrs. Samuel McFarland traveled over the interior of the State in an effort to arouse interest in the convention;<sup>167</sup> and in response to the call more than two hundred delegates, representing all parts of the State, met at Des Moines on November 18, 1863. A newspaper account of the convention reads as follows:

The Women's Sanitary Convention convened to-day . . . . It is largely attended by delegates from every part of the State. The morning session was somewhat spicy, rival parties throwing out scouts and sustaining picket lines to find the position of the enemy and guard against attack.

There are two parties in the convention, one of which is headed by Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, the present State Sanitary Agent, and the other by Rev. Mr. Kynett, of Davenport, claiming to represent a separate State Sanitary Agency. A test vote this morning, as well as the report on permanent officers this evening, would seem to indicate that Mrs. Wittenmyer and her friends are in the minority.

Colonel William M. Stone, Governor-elect, addressed the meeting and his remarks, according to one report, "were

<sup>166</sup> Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission, 1866, pp. 24-26; Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times, November 6, 1863; Muscatine Weekly Journal, November 6, 1863.

<sup>167</sup> Muscatine Weekly Journal, November 6, 1863.

like oil poured upon the troubled waters, and caused harmonious action when the convention seemed to be upon the point of hopeless disagreement."<sup>168</sup>

After a full discussion of sanitary affairs the convention decided to organize a Commission to take charge of all the relief work in the State. A constitution was adopted which proposed that the new association should be known as the Iowa Sanitary Commission and should be composed of one member from each local sanitary organization in the State. Furthermore, it provided that the Iowa Sanitary Commission should coöperate as far as practicable with both the United States Sanitary Commission and the Western Sanitary Commission. An attempt was made to pass a motion to operate exclusively through the United States Sanitary Commission, but it was defeated by a vote of one hundred and fifteen to fifty-five — a result which was considered a triumph for the friends of Mrs. Wittenmyer. The officers designated in the constitution were a president, six vice presidents, one from each Congressional District, a recording secretary, a treasurer, and a board of control to be composed of six members, one from each Congressional District. These officers were to be chosen by the convention and were to serve until the next annual meeting. The treasurer was required to give bond, and moneys could be disbursed by him only under the direction of the board of control on orders issued by the president and countersigned by the recording secretary. Annual meetings were to be held, but special meetings could be called by the board of control or by the written request of the presidents of thirty local societies. The board of control was to meet every three months, at which times the executive officers were to submit full reports of their operations, and these reports

<sup>168</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 27, 1863.

were to be published in the newspapers of the State. Two or more agents were to be appointed to take charge of sanitary matters in the field and visit the camps and hospitals.

The officers elected were Justice John F. Dillon of Davenport, president; Mrs. S. R. Curtis of Keokuk, Mrs. D. T. Newcomb of Davenport, Mrs. P. H. Conger of Dubuque, Mrs. William M. Stone of Knoxville, Mrs. W. W. Maynard of Council Bluffs, and Mrs. J. B. Taylor of Marshalltown, vice presidents; Rev. C. G. Truesdell of Davenport, secretary; Ezekiel Clark of Iowa City, treasurer; Rev. E. Skinner of De Witt, corresponding secretary; and Mr. G. W. Edwards of Mt. Pleasant, Mrs. J. F. Ely of Cedar Rapids, F. E. Bissell of Dubuque, N. H. Brainerd of Iowa City, James Wright of Des Moines, and Mrs. W. H. Plumb of Fort Dodge, members of the board of control.<sup>169</sup>

Mr. Kynett of the Army Sanitary Commission announced that he would turn over to the officers of the new body all the "effects and business of the Commission lately represented by him." A resolution was adopted to petition the legislature to enact a law creating a State fund to be distributed in the several counties in proportion to the number of soldiers enlisted from each county, to be used for the relief of destitute families of soldiers. Miss Lawrence of Keokuk, Mrs. D. T. Newcomb of Davenport, and Miss L. Knowles of Keokuk were named to draft an address to the people of Iowa "as to the nature and claims" of the new enterprise. The reports given at the convention by Mrs. Wittenmyer and Mr. Kynett showed that the organizations which they represented had distributed goods to the value of \$150,000.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>169</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, pp. 26, 27, 28; *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 27, 1863; Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 421; Newberry's *The U. S. Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi*, pp. 239, 240.

<sup>170</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, p. 28; *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 27, 1863.

In commenting upon the convention, the *Burlington Weekly Argus* stated that its purpose was to secure harmony and efficiency among all the organizations engaged in ministering to the needs of the soldiers. "It was proposed to organize a system that would secure the responsibility of agents," said the editor, "as by the present system, or rather the want of system, it is impossible for agents to account fully for what went through their hands. The blame was not due to the agents, but to the defective system." Because of the strife and discord evidenced at the meeting, and the "private animosity and personal ambition to be gratified", the Burlington newspaper declared that "it is questionable, on the whole, whether it has not resulted in doing more harm than good. The truth is, that the management of the sanitary matters of the State has grown into an importance, in a pecuniary point of view, sufficient to attract the cupidity of the speculative, and hence much of the strife in the convention."<sup>171</sup>

Mrs. Harlan, on the other hand, considered the outcome of the convention to be very satisfactory and one which met with "the approval of nearly all who were present, and which it is believed will secure the harmony, efficiency, and accountability of agents, so much desired." She pointed out that the new arrangement would not interfere with the work of the agents appointed by the State, the aim being only "to improve the system; to classify the labor—to provide for a division of work—to require security and safety, and to put more laborers in the field."<sup>172</sup>

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION

In his second biennial message on January 12, 1864, Governor Kirkwood characterized the sanitary work as being

<sup>171</sup> *Burlington Weekly Argus*, November 26, 1863.

<sup>172</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, December 4, 1863.

well arranged and systematized and consequently much more effective than before. The Governor was convinced that the work could be done much better by the Aid Societies than by the State and recommended that it be left in their hands. The State should, he advised, make a liberal appropriation for a contingent fund, to be at the disposal of the Governor for use in emergencies to aid the societies in caring for the sick and wounded and to send agents of the State whenever necessary for the comfort and well-being of the soldiers.<sup>173</sup>

The first meeting of the board of control of the Iowa Sanitary Commission was held early in December, 1863. At this time Mr. Kynett formally delivered to the new society all books and papers of the Army Sanitary Commission and the balance of their funds — about \$800. Mrs. Wittenmyer also, in a letter to the president of the new Commission, relinquished all claims to the organization which she had represented and turned over all her facilities for shipping and conducting relief work. She likewise expressed her desire to coöperate with the Iowa Sanitary Commission in the endeavor to unite all the relief agencies of the State.<sup>174</sup>

Provision was made for the establishment of depots, one at Chicago in connection with the United States Sanitary Commission, and one at St. Louis in connection with the Western Sanitary Commission, where the stores from Iowa could be received, repacked, and prepared for the field, and marked with the Iowa mark in order that, as far as possible, they could be turned over to Iowa regiments. The people sending donations were requested to put their names, marks, or mottoes upon the goods so that those receiving them

<sup>173</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 349.

<sup>174</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, pp. 28, 31; *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, December 11, 1863.

would have the satisfaction of knowing that they were using goods from their own State and often from their own friends. Each local aid society was to decide for itself to which of these two depots its contributions should be sent.<sup>175</sup>

Articles of incorporation were drawn up and adopted at this first meeting of the board of control, and the headquarters were located at Davenport. The objects of the new organization were stated as follows:

The general business of the association shall be to furnish aid, assistance, and comfort to sick, wounded, and suffering soldiers, and this both within and beyond the State. The particular objects and business of this Association shall be to stimulate and encourage, by the organization of voluntary societies and otherwise, the people of the State of Iowa to contribute money and sanitary supplies for the use and purpose aforesaid; to gather these together and distribute them in such mode as the Board of Control . . . . shall, from time to time direct and authorize, but until these articles are altered this Commission or Association shall co-operate, as far as practicable, with the United States and Western Sanitary Commissions.<sup>176</sup>

The State was divided into districts and Rev. E. S. Norris, Mrs. M. J. Hager, and Mrs. C. W. Simmons were named as agents to canvass the State in behalf of the new organization. Mr. Norris and Mrs. Hager served without expense to the Commission being paid from the funds of the United States Sanitary Commission. The army was also divided into four departments and the board of control or the general agent, acting with the Governor, were authorized to appoint agents for each department. Memorials were presented to the General Assembly asking for an appropriation to cover the expenses of the Commission, in-

<sup>175</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, p. 28; *The State Press* (Iowa City), December 23, 1863; *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, December 11, 1863.

<sup>176</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, pp. 29, 30.

cluding the expenses of the agents, and also for a fund to be placed at the disposal of the Governor to be drawn upon in cases of emergency.<sup>177</sup>

In order to acquaint the public with the new arrangement N. H. Brainerd and James Wright were appointed at this meeting to issue an explanatory statement to the various local societies. When issued, this statement pointed out that the operation of the organization rested in the hands of the executive committee. Rev. E. Skinner, the corresponding secretary, was the general agent. All agents of the State were made agents of the Commission and were to work with it, Mrs. Wittenmyer, however, being the only State agent in the field at the time. The desire of the Commission to serve the people is shown by the sentiment expressed in this address, that if "the officers of the Commission do not manage to your liking, you will soon have a chance to fill their places with others. The whole matter is in your hands and you can control it." Accompanying the address was an endorsement from Governor Kirkwood, in which he spoke of the good work which had been done. "I know", he wrote, "the supplies furnished are, in the main, faithfully applied. I know hundreds and thousands of precious lives have thus been saved, and a vast amount of suffering relieved."<sup>178</sup>

#### ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COMMISSION

Sanitary affairs in Iowa were undoubtedly better organized at this time than they had been at any previous period. All efforts were united under a single head capable of pro-

<sup>177</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, pp. 32, 33; *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, December 11, 1863; Newberry's *The U. S. Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi*, p. 240.

<sup>178</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, January 1, 1864; *The State Press* (Iowa City), December 23, 1863.

viding an efficient working system. A letter to the *Muscatine Journal*, however, indicates that there were still some people in the State who were not in sympathy with the arrangement. This letter referred to the Iowa Sanitary Commission as "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity" and declared that the Commission was "begging" the legislature for \$80,000, of which \$13,000 was to pay the salaries of its agents and officers. The United States Sanitary Commission, the writer stated, distributed \$100,000 worth of goods at a cost of \$2,000, or on the whole at an expense of about two per cent.<sup>179</sup> The new arrangement, however, soon resulted in increased activity. Many new societies were organized and organizations that had been dormant for some time again entered into the work with new vigor.<sup>180</sup>

A bill was passed by the House of Representatives in February, 1864, to take the place of the act of 1862, which had authorized the Governor to appoint two or more sanitary agents, one of whom was to be Mrs Wittenmyer.<sup>181</sup> Immediately remonstrances were sent to the Senate by people all over the State, objecting to the repeal of the earlier act and expressing confidence in Mrs. Wittenmyer. Petitions of such a nature were introduced into the Senate from the citizens of Burlington, Muscatine, Mt. Pleasant, and Henry County. The petition which was circulated in Muscatine received over three hundred signatures, only one person having refused to sign it. Partly as a result of these petitions the bill was indefinitely postponed by the Senate.<sup>182</sup> The *Muscatine Journal* in commenting upon the movement stated that the only opposition Mrs. Wittenmyer had ever encountered was "at the hands of a petty, despicable clique,

<sup>179</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, February 19, 1864.

<sup>180</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, March 4, 1864.

<sup>181</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1864, p. 358.

<sup>182</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1864, pp. 398, 402, 416, 437.

who have private ends to serve, and not the good of the service in view.”<sup>183</sup> A later issue declared that the opposition to Mrs. Wittenmyer “originated in a heartless political scheme, and has ever since been carried on by its originators with the heartlessness characteristic of political schemers. By which we do not mean to say that all who oppose Mrs. W. are political schemers. We refer only to the heart-diseased, don’t-expect-to-live-long ‘anti-Wittenmyer’ set.”<sup>184</sup>

The second annual meeting of the Iowa Sanitary Commission was held at Des Moines on June 1, 1864. Mr. F. E. Bissell of Dubuque became president; Mrs. James Baker of Davenport, recording secretary; Ezekiel Clark of Iowa City was reelected treasurer; and Rev. E. S. Norris of Dubuque was made corresponding secretary and general agent. A resolution was passed at this meeting asking that all supplies be sent to the United States Sanitary Commission at Chicago. The reasons given were that the Western Sanitary Commission did not reach all the Iowa soldiers and the Christian Commission was designed to attend particularly to the spiritual needs of the men, while the United States Sanitary Commission possessed superior facilities and operated in every part of the country.<sup>185</sup>

The first meeting of the board of control of the Commission for 1864 was held at Dubuque on June 22-24, during the progress of the Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair at that place. The officers of the local aid societies who were at the Fair attended the meeting of the board in large numbers. Mrs. D. P. Livermore of Chicago, representing the United States Sanitary Commission was present and told of the condition and sufferings of the Iowa troops, and explained

<sup>183</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, March 4, 1864.

<sup>184</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, March 11, 1864.

<sup>185</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, pp. 33, 34.

the working of the Commission which she represented. The chief object of the meeting was to arouse an interest among the visitors at the Fair; and according to the report "all present were inspired with renewed determination to work with increased zeal".<sup>186</sup>

Mrs. Wittenmyer had proposed the establishment of a special diet kitchen service for the benefit of those patients in need of special food which could not be obtained from the regular army allowances; and early in 1864 she laid her plan before the United States Christian Commission, by which body it was accepted after having been commended by the medical authorities of the army. The Christian Commission decided to put the plan into operation in its western branches, and agents were authorized to carry it out under the direction of Mrs. Wittenmyer. In June, therefore, Mrs. Wittenmyer resigned her place as State agent for Iowa in order to take up her new work with the Christian Commission, which she considered to be a field of much greater service.<sup>187</sup>

With her resignation Mrs. Wittenmyer gave an account of her activities as State agent since September, 1862. This report showed that she had received from the Aid Societies of the State 2723 packages, barrels, and boxes of sanitary stores. The Des Moines convention estimated the average value of these packages to be forty dollars, thus making \$108,920 the estimated total value of the stores which Mrs. Wittenmyer distributed. This amount added to the cash received made a total of \$115,876.93 for the work which she had performed. She estimated that this sum included nearly five-sixths of all the supplies furnished

<sup>186</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission, 1866*, p. 34.

<sup>187</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission, 1866*, p. 33; *Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission, 1865*, p. 24; *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, June 3, 1864. See above Chapter II.

by the people of Iowa during that period. At the time of her resignation Mrs. Wittenmyer reported the condition of the local Aid Societies to be very flourishing financially, many of them having from two to four hundred dollars in their treasuries.<sup>188</sup>

The reports of the officers of the Iowa Sanitary Commission made at the meeting of the board of control on September 29, 1864, at Burlington, showed that the relief work carried on by the people of the State was greater than ever before. From March 1 to September 1, 1864, the United States Sanitary Commission at Chicago had received from Iowa 2059 packages, which was 474 more than were furnished by the whole State of Illinois. During the same period of six months the Chicago branch received in cash a total of \$61,788.06, of which Iowa furnished \$43,920.15, while Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota combined furnished only \$17,788. At the next meeting of the board held at Cedar Rapids on March 27, 1865, there was given a report for the year from March 1, 1864, to March 1, 1865, which revealed the fact that the Chicago branch during that year had received 3340 packages from Iowa. For the same period Minnesota had contributed 210; Wisconsin 3165; Illinois 3918; and Michigan 1457 packages. The cash receipts from Iowa had been \$50,935.85; while \$38,931.64 had been the total amount received from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan.<sup>189</sup>

In April 1865, Mr. Norris reported that between seven and eight tons of sanitary goods were stored along the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad and the Dubuque Southwestern Railroad ready to be shipped. The interest throughout the State was very great, between sixty and

<sup>188</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1864, pp. 197, 206.

<sup>189</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, p. 35.

seventy county agents, appointed by Mr. Norris, being engaged in a canvas of their various counties.<sup>190</sup>

A branch of the United States Christian Commission had been established in Dubuque towards the close of 1864. It was an auxiliary of the Chicago branch of the Christian Commission and was in charge of John H. Thompson. A meeting was held by the members at Dubuque in March, 1865, and delegates were appointed to visit surrounding towns to solicit contributions and organize local committees to supervise their respective districts.<sup>191</sup> Another auxiliary of the Christian Commission was located at Keokuk, with Col. William Thompson as president and treasurer, this organization being connected with the St. Louis branch of the Commission.<sup>192</sup> Many supplies sent from Iowa during the closing months of the war were delivered by the Christian Commission. *The Third Annual Report* of the Christian Commission acknowledged "valuable and timely donations" from Keokuk, Davenport, Os-kaloosa, Camanche, and "other places in Iowa, of noble-hearted, liberal people". Southern and central Iowa contributed more than one-half of the entire funds and stores of the St. Louis branch of the Christian Commission for the year 1864.<sup>193</sup>

On Wednesday, June 7, 1865, the Iowa Sanitary Commission met for its third annual meeting at Des Moines. The war was over, however, and all that remained to be done was to wind up the affairs of the organization. Resolutions were adopted recommending that the local societies

<sup>190</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, April 28, 1865.

<sup>191</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, November 15, 1864, March 31, 1865.

<sup>192</sup> *Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1865, p. x.

<sup>193</sup> *Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1865, pp. 94, 95.

which had so well supported the relief work should now give their support to the Orphans' Asylum; and the existing officers were reelected.<sup>194</sup>

No report was ever made covering the work for the whole State during the full period of the war, and it would probably have been impossible to do so, as supplies were distributed through so many different agencies. The reports published by the different agents and commissions often contained duplications in that they listed the same supplies and funds, so that it would be impossible to estimate or place any total money value upon the contributions of the people of Iowa. The reports covering specific periods, however, are sufficient to furnish an idea of the great magnitude which the relief work attained. One writer says that every Iowa town "had its Soldiers' Aid Society, or later its local branch of the state sanitary commission, and the value and blessed use of the sanitary and hospital supplies sent to the front by them was almost beyond computation"; while another historian declares that in "almost every town and county throughout the State the women of Iowa earnestly coöperated in this humane work. . . . The aid thus given to the soldiers in the field was estimated to amount to more than half a million dollars."<sup>195</sup>

## VII

### SANITARY FAIRS IN IOWA

Encouraged by the success of the so-called "sanitary fairs" in many other States, people in various parts of Iowa, early in 1864, conceived the idea of raising money

<sup>194</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, pp. 35, 36.

<sup>195</sup> Byers's *Iowa in War Times*, p. 456; Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 421.

by similar means in this State. The movement soon took definite shape and in the course of the year three very successful fairs were held.

#### THE NORTHERN IOWA SANITARY FAIR

A public meeting was held in Dubuque in January, 1864, to consider the advisability of holding a large and extensive festival of some sort on Washington's Birthday to raise the money and supplies so badly needed at that time for the army. It was proposed that the Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society should arrange for the affair, but as the members of that organization felt that they had all they could attend to, the matter was dropped temporarily.<sup>196</sup>

The proposal was revived a few months later and plans were laid for holding a large mass meeting to discuss the proposition. This meeting was held on March 10th in the Congregational church, which was well filled with the people of Dubuque. Mrs. D. P. Livermore of Chicago, a representative of the United States Sanitary Commission, was present and "for two hours addressed the meeting elegantly and eloquently". At the conclusion of her address it was decided to undertake the holding of a fair in Dubuque; and a committee of sixteen, composed of an equal number of men and women, was appointed to draw up plans for an organization and to select officers. A resolution was also adopted providing that a subscription should be taken at the meeting, and that the proceeds should be used for the immediate purchase of vegetables for the armies. The sum of eleven hundred dollars in cash was secured, a large part of which was used to purchase sauer kraut for the troops.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>196</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, January 15, 19, 1864; *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, p. 3. This pamphlet contains a list of donations to the Fair, the treasurer's report, and a brief sketch of the Fair. It was published in Dubuque in 1864.

<sup>197</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, March 15, 18, 1864; *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, pp. 3, 4, 63.

Two days later the committee made its report. The organization was designated the Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair, and Mr. H. A. Wiltse was named as its president. Three vice presidents, five secretaries, a treasurer, and an executive committee of ten were also appointed. In addition, the plan provided that the presidents of organizations which might be formed in the various counties of the State for the purpose of coöperating in the enterprise should be vice presidents of the Fair. This plan ultimately resulted in the selection of thirty-four men and women, from as many different counties, as vice presidents.<sup>198</sup>

Work was immediately begun to arrange for the large undertaking. An appeal was sent out to the people of the State urging their assistance and coöperation. Contributions of cash, of vegetables, of sanitary supplies, and of articles for sale at the Fair were solicited.<sup>199</sup> Persons representing the Fair visited counties throughout the State, urging the coöperation of the public and of all relief organizations. Mr. Norris, an agent of the Iowa Sanitary Commission, spent the month previous to the Fair in traveling over the State, for the purpose of arousing popular interest and assistance. It was his hope that the results of the Fair should not be measured by the amount of money that would be raised, since he believed the Fair would be instrumental in reviving an interest and activity in the relief work of the whole State.<sup>200</sup> Appeals for contributions were not limited to Iowa. With a view to making the affair as large and profitable as possible, people throughout the loyal States were asked to help.

As plans and work progressed the citizens entered more

<sup>198</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, p. 4.

<sup>199</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, March 18, 1864.

<sup>200</sup> *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 19, 1864, pp. 577, 578; *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, April 29, 1864.

fully into the spirit of the Fair and each was desirous of doing his part. The reports of agents and letters from numerous counties showed that practically the whole State was interested in the success of the undertaking. Governor William M. Stone was active, and early in April he wrote to the managers of the Fair that "nothing short of sickness or unavoidable business engagements" would keep him from attendance.<sup>201</sup> At a meeting of the executive committee on May 3rd "communications from nearly every county in the State were read."<sup>202</sup> Originally it had been planned to hold the Fair in the City Building and Turner Hall, but because of the proportions the enterprise was assuming, the promoters soon realized that these buildings would not be sufficient. Therefore, in order to give time for the construction of an additional building to house the machinery and implements, the date of the opening of the Fair, which had been set for May 24th, was postponed to June 21st.<sup>203</sup>

Agreements were early reached with various transportation companies for transporting goods for the Fair free of charge. Twenty-four different railroads and the Northwestern Packet Company agreed to haul all goods free, while the American Express Company promised to carry free all packages weighing under thirty pounds and all packages above that weight at cost.<sup>204</sup> In May a committee on "Labor, Incomes and Revenue" was appointed and instructed "to solicit a day's labor or its earnings, or a day's income from each individual in the State, also a day's revenue from all employing establishments, firms, corporations and companies".<sup>205</sup> In response to the untiring ef-

<sup>201</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, April 8, 1864.

<sup>202</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, May 6, 1864.

<sup>203</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, April 29, 1864; *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, p. 6.

<sup>204</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, April 26, 1864.

<sup>205</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, May 10, 1864.

forts of the workers, supplies and donations early began to pour in, and long before the opening day of the big event had arrived, hospital goods valued at twenty-five thousand dollars had been received and shipped to the men in the field.<sup>206</sup>

At two o'clock on June 21st the Fair was thrown open to the public, there being no procession or public display to mark the opening. "The officers and committees assembled in the Fancy Department shortly before the hour for public opening. The Germania Band performed 'Hail Columbia.' Rev. D. M. Reed addressed the Throne of Grace in a fervent prayer. The President of the Fair, on behalf of the managers, in a brief address, turned over the donations to the committees, and this address was responded to in a few well chosen remarks, by W. L. Calkins, Esq., of McGregor, on the part of the committees."<sup>207</sup> Two dollars was the price of a season ticket good for a lady and gentleman; single season tickets sold for a dollar and a half; admission for a single day was fifty cents; and children under twelve years of age were admitted at one-half the regular rate.<sup>208</sup>

The first floor of the City Hall was occupied by booths, where every county that so desired was represented. Fourteen Iowa counties occupied separate booths; Jo Daviess County in Illinois and Grant County in Wisconsin shared one booth; the Good Templars conducted four booths, the City of Dubuque seven, the Catholic ladies of Dubuque two, and the German ladies of Dubuque two. Contributions from other localities were distributed among and sold at the different booths.<sup>209</sup> The library and floral departments, the

<sup>206</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, p. 8.

<sup>207</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, pp. 5, 6; *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, June 21, 24, 1864.

<sup>208</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, June 21, 1864.

<sup>209</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, p. 8.

packing room, the appraisers' room, and the officers' headquarters were located on the second floor of the City Hall; the third floor housed the children's amusement department; and the basement served as a store room. The first and second stories of Turner Hall were used for the refreshment department, with sitting rooms and lounging rooms on the ground floor and dining room and kitchen above. "Both buildings were ornamented with American flags, with evergreens, flowers, mottoes and pictures in profusion and with the highest effect." The building which had been constructed especially for the occasion adjoined the City Hall, and was filled with "hardware and agricultural and household implements and machinery".<sup>210</sup>

The Fair continued for eight days, the doors being open from ten o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock at night. As many as twenty-five hundred people were present at a single time. In the evenings special entertainments were given, consisting of "Tableaux, Pantomines, and the drama of Cinderella at Turner Hall; two dramatic entertainments at Julien Theatre, of a choice character, by an amateur company of ladies and gentlemen from Madison, Wisconsin, under the management of Jas. L. Stafford, Esq., given entirely at their own expense; two concerts by Prof. Lascelles, and a lecture by Mark M. Pomeroy, Esq., also at Julien Theatre."<sup>211</sup>

In order to stimulate interest in the Fair a national flag was offered as a prize to the county, outside of Dubuque County, making the largest contribution to the Fair in proportion to its population.<sup>212</sup> About the middle of May, over a month before the opening of the Fair, the vice president

<sup>210</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>211</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, pp. 8, 9; *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, June 28, 1864.

<sup>212</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, April 12, 1864.

of Kossuth County stated in a letter to the president of the Fair that Kossuth County was "going to get that flag" or make some of the other counties "pile it up big."<sup>213</sup> When the Fair opened Kossuth County, in addition to a valuable collection of goods, had contributed more than a dollar for every man, woman, and child in the County.<sup>214</sup> This amount proved to be sufficient to win the contest and the prize flag is to be found to-day in the care of the Kossuth County Historical Society.<sup>215</sup>

The aim of the promoters of the Fair had been to obtain a response from as many people and from as many parts of Iowa as possible, thus making the enterprise a state-wide movement. That this aim was realized is shown by the fact that donations were received from about three hundred Iowa towns and cities, in sixty-two different counties. These donations were in a large part composed of supplies such as vegetables and other foods, clothing, and hospital stores, that could be used directly for the benefit of the soldiers in camps and hospitals; but among the contributions there was also a great quantity and a great variety of articles to be sold at the Fair.<sup>216</sup>

Heading the list of such articles was one "silk quilt, by eight young ladies" from Allamakee County, representing, as did numerous gifts of fancy-work and art, the handiwork of the women of the State. Even the unfortunate inmates of the Asylum for the Blind at Vinton responded to the appeal with a contribution of fancy bead work. From Dubuque County, where of course the interest in the Fair was greatest, came such a variety of articles as a piano, a cannon, an opera cloak, a harness, five boxes of toilet soap, a

<sup>213</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, May 17, 1864.

<sup>214</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, June 21, 1864.

<sup>215</sup> Reed's *Our Historic Flag* in the *Algona Courier*, December 13, 1917.

<sup>216</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, pp. 10-37.

"fancy dress ball, revolving figures", a saddle, one garden vase, forty-five Mexican dollars, two "transparencies", bread baskets, specimens of minerals, an ottoman, one "Daughter of the Regiment", and a sketch entitled the "Bathing Scene".

A fine silver set which sold for five hundred dollars was received from the ladies of Keokuk; and a less expensive set was received from Burlington. The people of Clinton County forwarded, among other things, one pump and a quantity of sheet music; while from Linn County came two pumps, two pieces of pump pipe, and two lightning rods. A shirt and a clothes-wringer formed part of Mt. Pleasant's donation, and citizens of Webster City responded with three dollars worth of "French chalk" and some specimens of Colorado gold quartz. Waterloo was very ably represented by such gifts as a "case of birds", two town lots, and a whatnot valued at forty dollars. Perhaps one of the most novel and striking gifts of all, certainly one of the most enlivening to those coming in contact with it, was that received from a citizen of Clayton County — a hive of bees.<sup>217</sup>

Iowa, however, was not the only source from which aid flowed to the Fair. From all over the country came large donations of money and goods. Cash received from Chicago amounted to \$3508, from New York City came a total of \$3165, from Boston \$2735, and from Milwaukee \$1,262.16, besides many smaller subscriptions from numerous other places. The articles from the country at large, contributed for sale at the Fair, like those from various parts of this State, included goods of all degrees of value and usefulness. Farm machinery proved a popular gift, and a great variety, such as reapers, mowers, hay rakes, plows, fanning mills, a sugar cane mill, buggies, and a cutter came from several

<sup>217</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, pp. 10-37.

districts. Other individuals or communities sent household equipment, including sewing machines, washing machines, furniture, clothes dryers, a cook stove, a tea urn, and a clock. Citizens of Pennsylvania, as their contribution, forwarded clothing, copper bottomed and brass kettles, glass, two gross of "vermifuge", and a steel cannon. From a regiment in Texas came carved work, a blanket, a scarf, shells, boots, slippers, and a Mexican saddle. Connecticut's offerings included skates, patent garters, hoop skirts, and door knobs. Massachusetts added five carriage robes, head dresses, one school melodeon, part values on a piano and organ, "two gross bronchial troches", and an afghan. Among the receipts from New York were twenty pounds of black tea, a camp stool, a dozen razors, twenty bunches of rope, two boxes of tin, one baby tender, pocket companions, cologne bottles, one self-operating swing, a tent, one spring rocking horse, six cistern pumps, a box of artificial flowers, six boxes of "Green", and two dozen bottles of "psychogogue". A guitar, two barrels of crackers, "one tidy, by a lady seventy years old", one mineral grotto, and six very old coppers helped to make up the contribution from Wisconsin.<sup>218</sup>

Soon after the Fair was organized the executive committee passed a resolution to prohibit the disposition of goods at the Fair by raffling or selling chances.<sup>219</sup> Apparently the rule was not enforced, and as a result the president and managers were severely criticized. A religious newspaper published in Dubuque at the time, although chronicling the success of the Fair from a financial point of view, considered it a "*moral failure*". Many ministers had worked and served as agents for the Fair with the under-

<sup>218</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, pp. 38-44, 51, 52, 61, 62, 64.

<sup>219</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, March 15, 1864.

standing that the resolution against raffling would be enforced and they would not have backed the project under any other conditions. "In the face of all this," declared the editor, "the President of the Fair had scarcely concluded his excellent and eloquent opening address, before the sale of lottery-tickets was begun, and during the whole of the seven days that the Fair continued, one could not spend five minutes in any portion of the vast building devoted to it, without being beset and besought by men, women and children, to 'take a chance,' 'try your luck,' 'buy a ticket,' and so on *ad nauseam*, until his ears were fairly made to *ring* with the whole vocabulary of a regular lottery office."<sup>220</sup>

Numerous contests were arranged to increase the interest of those attending the Fair. An opera cloak was presented by Mrs. H. A. Wiltse to be donated to either Mrs. Grant, Mrs. Frémont, or Mrs. McClellan, as the people decided. Votes were sold at fifty cents and patrons were urged to vote "early and often."<sup>221</sup> A St. Louis firm donated a "magnificent regimental flag" to go to the regiment receiving the highest number of votes at the Fair. The votes sold at fifty cents each<sup>222</sup> and on the last evening, as the time for closing the polls drew near the contest grew very exciting. The Fifth Iowa Cavalry was at first declared to be the winner, but a recount gave the flag to the Ninth Iowa Infantry by a single vote.<sup>223</sup>

By the time the Fair closed the total receipts had almost reached ninety thousand dollars, and many goods still remained unsold. Such materials as could be converted into hospital clothing were turned over to the Soldiers' Aid So-

<sup>220</sup> *Iowa Religious News-Letter* (Dubuque), July, 1864.

<sup>221</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, June 24, 1864.

<sup>222</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, June 21, 1864.

<sup>223</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, July 1, 1864.

society of Dubuque. Many other things were given to the sanitary fairs at Rockford and Warren, Illinois, and to similar enterprises at Marshalltown and Burlington, Iowa. When the final report was made by the managers a few articles still remained undisposed of, among which were "an embroidered chair, a gold watch, a hive of bees, two town lots and one hundred and twenty acres of farming land."<sup>224</sup>

The proceeds of the Fair had, upon its organization, been pledged to the United States Sanitary Commission,<sup>225</sup> and besides the supplies forwarded to this Commission as a result of the Fair nearly \$50,000 in cash was added to its funds. About \$1500 of the proceeds of the Fair was spent by the management for vegetables; the sum of \$250 was given to the Soldiers' Home in Dubuque; and between \$7000 and \$8000 was spent in maintaining agents, in fitting up the buildings, in buying goods, and in defraying advertising and operating expenses.<sup>226</sup>

Compared with the other sanitary fairs held throughout the country the Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair made a favorable showing. It was pointed out by the *Dubuque Times* that the contributions per inhabitant of Dubuque County averaged \$2.88, which was higher than a similar average for any of the larger fairs. St. Louis was next to Dubuque with an average of \$2.75, after which came Philadelphia County with \$2.10 per inhabitant of the county; but all other communities fell below two dollars. In total receipts the Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair equaled the fair held in Chicago in October, 1863.<sup>227</sup> While many of the larger fairs

<sup>224</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, p. 6.

<sup>225</sup> *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 19, 1864, p. 578; *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, p. 23.

<sup>226</sup> *The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair*, p. 63; *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, No. 26, 1864, pp. 824, 825.

<sup>227</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, November 25, 1864.

received large contributions, some running into many thousands of dollars, no cash subscriptions to the Dubuque Fair exceeded one hundred dollars. The success of the enterprise was due to the wide-spread support which it received and the small gifts from a great number of persons. In some townships and counties almost every man, woman, and child gave something.<sup>228</sup> In commenting upon the Fair a bulletin of the United States Sanitary Commission made the following statement:

If the value of services were measured by the extent of the sacrifice made in rendering them, it would probably be found that no State in the Union had done so much for the war as Iowa . . . . it is doubtful if there is on record any other so splendid example of the heroism, farsightedness, and self-abnegation with which freedom long enjoyed, can gift a whole community.<sup>229</sup>

#### OTHER FAIRS IN IOWA

Following the Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair, two additional fairs of more than local importance were held in the State; the Iowa Central Fair at Muscatine, held during the first week in September, 1864, and the Southern Iowa Fair at Burlington near the close of the same month.<sup>230</sup> These fairs, although somewhat smaller, were conducted along similar lines and received enthusiastic support from their own communities. A list of the contributions to the Southern Iowa Fair, according to townships, shows that Yellow Springs Township in Des Moines County, with a population of 1604, averaged \$2.15 per capita; while Denmark Township in Lee County, with 843 people, averaged \$1.42.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>228</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, November 25, 1864.

<sup>229</sup> *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 19, 1864, pp. 577, 578.

<sup>230</sup> A fair was held at Marshalltown in August, 1865, but since the purpose of this fair was to raise money for the Soldiers' Orphans' Home it will be considered under that subject.

<sup>231</sup> Quoted from the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* in the *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, October 21, 1864.

The total receipts of the Burlington Fair were between \$20,000 and \$25,000, including \$6000 worth of sanitary stores. These proceeds were donated partly to the United States Sanitary Commission, partly to the United States Christian Commission, and the remainder was expended under the supervision of the Burlington Soldiers' Aid Society.<sup>232</sup> The Christian Commission received as its part \$2500 in cash; forty barrels of onions, pickles, and dried apples; nine boxes of clothing, linen, and bandages; forty-nine boxes and kegs of canned fruit and apple butter; and several boxes of books.<sup>233</sup>

From the Iowa Central Fair about \$20,000 was realized by the managers, the greatest share of which was turned over to the United States Christian Commission,<sup>234</sup> which received \$10,000 in cash; 1920 bushels of potatoes; 998 bushels of onions; twenty barrels of crackers; twenty-two barrels and kegs of pickles; six barrels of flour; eight boxes of clothing and linens; and fifty boxes and four barrels of canned, dried, and preserved fruit.<sup>235</sup>

Politics seem to have entered somewhat into the Fair at Muscatine, and at least one Democratic editor advised his readers to send their contributions directly to the soldiers rather than to the Fair. The stand taken in this particular case was the result of a meeting held at Iowa City to arouse enthusiasm for the Fair. Mr. Henry O'Connor of Muscatine addressed the meeting which, according to the *Iowa State Press*, was turned "into an abolition love feast". O'Connor's address, as "long as he confined himself to the

<sup>232</sup> *Report of the Iowa Sanitary Commission*, 1866, p. 71; quotation from the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* in the *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, October 21, 1864.

<sup>233</sup> *Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1865, pp. 94, 95.

<sup>234</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, September 23, 1864.

<sup>235</sup> *Third Annual Report of the United States Christian Commission*, 1865, pp. 94, 95.

object for which he professed to be speaking", declared the editor, was "exceedingly dry and uninteresting; but when he branched off upon the negro, and alluded to the vengeance which his party propose wreaking upon Democrats in the North, his dullness vanished, and all the malignity of his shallow soul flowed in a stream of dirty slang from his lips." Hence the advice which was given—"don't drop a single dime into the maw of this abolition shark."<sup>236</sup>

## VIII

## RELIEF OF SOLDIERS' FAMILIES

When the men from the North began to respond to the call to arms the people remaining at home were in many cases confronted with the problem of providing for the families of soldiers. All through the war it was necessary for many fathers and husbands to leave their homes without any adequate provision for the maintenance of those dependent upon them. There were three sources from which aid came to these families: from the State, from the county, and from private individuals and organizations.<sup>237</sup> In some instances, as in Massachusetts<sup>238</sup> and North Carolina,<sup>239</sup> money was appropriated directly by the State for the purpose. In many of the States county aid was given; while private help was no doubt given to some extent in every community.<sup>240</sup>

<sup>236</sup> *The Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), August 10, 1864.

<sup>237</sup> Fite's *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*, p. 288.

<sup>238</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 4, 1861.

<sup>239</sup> Fisher's *The Relief of Soldiers' Families in North Carolina During the Civil War* in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, January, 1917, pp. 60, 61, 62.

<sup>240</sup> Fite's *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War*, p. 288.

## LEGISLATION RELATIVE TO RELIEF OF SOLDIERS' FAMILIES

No aid was given to soldiers' families in Iowa directly from the funds of the State; provision for their care was left to the county boards of supervisors and to private agencies. Early in the war, however, there was some agitation for the use of State funds for this purpose. In his message to the special session of the legislature in 1861, Governor Kirkwood referred to the matter and stated his belief that, since troops would not come from all counties of the State nor would they be equally distributed among those counties which were drawn upon, it would be more equitable and just if the expense of caring for the families of the volunteers should be assumed by the State, and the burden thereby equally distributed among all the people.<sup>241</sup>

In the same message the Governor mentioned the fact that in "most or all of the counties in which companies of volunteers have thus far been accepted, the Boards of Supervisors or public spirited citizens have raised means for the support of the families of volunteers who have left families dependent on them for support."<sup>242</sup> It was necessary that such action of the supervisors should be sanctioned by the State legislature, and this was done by a law passed on May 27, 1861.<sup>243</sup> At the same time a movement was started to enact a statute which would authorize the county boards, in the future, to give such relief. There was some opposition to the bill which was introduced. A letter, written from Des Moines to the *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, stated that it was unlikely that such a law would be enacted, because so many of the counties of the State had no volunteer

<sup>241</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 261.

<sup>242</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 261.

<sup>243</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, p. 3.

companies, and hence the people did not appreciate the importance of such a provision.<sup>244</sup> On May 29, 1861, however, a law was enacted giving power to the board of supervisors to make appropriations out of county funds for the support of families of volunteers who had been living in the State at the time of enlistment and whose residence was still in Iowa.<sup>245</sup>

The subject of support for soldiers' families was again revived at the special legislative session in 1862, and more efficient provision for county aid was made. By an act of September 11th county supervisors were authorized to levy a special tax for the payment of bounties for enlistments, and for the support of families of persons in the military service of the State or the United States. Any previous taxes that had been levied for this purpose were also legalized by this act.<sup>246</sup>

Conditions, however, were not yet satisfactory to those interested in the work. At the formation of the Iowa Sanitary Commission in November, 1863, a resolution was adopted asking the legislature to pass a law creating a general State fund for the relief of the destitute families of soldiers, to be distributed in proportion to the number of soldiers enlisted from each county. It was also recommended that the law authorizing counties to levy taxes for that purpose be repealed.<sup>247</sup> An address sent out by the Commission in December called attention to the fact that many soldiers' families all over the State were "in want of the common necessaries of life." The Ladies' Aid Societies were urged to give the men at home no peace until they supplied them with the means necessary to relieve the suffer-

<sup>244</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, May 31, 1861.

<sup>245</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1861, p. 31.

<sup>246</sup> *Laws of Iowa* (Extra Session), 1862, pp. 37, 38, 39.

<sup>247</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 27, 1863.

ing among soldiers' families. They were especially asked to urge the county supervisors to provide assistance.<sup>248</sup>

In his biennial message of January, 1864, Governor Kirkwood again gave attention to the matter. He "very earnestly" recommended that "some systematic mode of furnishing aid to the needy families of our soldiers be adopted." Instead of advising State aid, as in his earlier message, he was undecided as to whether it was best for the State to furnish the money and appoint agents to distribute it, or to leave the matter to local aid societies.<sup>249</sup> The action taken by the law-makers left the care of the families in the hands of county authorities, but strengthened the law by which it was accomplished. Previously the supervisors had had the power to levy taxes for the purpose, but a law of March, 1864, contained the provision that "there shall be levied in each county not less than two (2) mills on the dollar, in the years 1864 and 1865," for the "relief of the families of privates and non-commissioned officers and musicians who have heretofore been, now are, or may hereafter be in the military or naval service of the United States from this State". Thus the assessment of the tax was made compulsory instead of being left to the choice of the authorities of each particular county.<sup>250</sup>

#### RELIEF BY COUNTIES

The total amounts paid out by the counties of the State during the Civil War, according to reports made to the State Auditor, were \$1,083,901.34 for bounties and \$1,122,247.76 for the relief of soldiers' families. In 1861, the first year of the war, Johnson County, where a total of \$3,384.36

<sup>248</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), December 23, 1863.

<sup>249</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 349, 350.

<sup>250</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, pp. 99, 100, 101.

was appropriated, was the only county reporting the use of any public funds for relief purposes. The reports, however, could not have been complete, as the supervisors of Muscatine County on June 12, 1861, appropriated \$2000 for the support of the families of volunteers.<sup>251</sup> In 1862 and 1863 no expenditures for relief were reported by any of the counties, although in some instances money which had been so spent was included in the funds used for bounties, which for the two years amounted to \$461,179.47. The amount devoted to relief work in 1864 was \$604,607.78; in 1865 it was \$487,863.16; and in 1866 it amounted to \$26,392.46.<sup>252</sup>

#### RELIEF BY PRIVATE AGENCIES

That there was much left for private charity to do is a matter of little doubt. Perhaps the best idea of the part played by private individuals and organizations can be secured by a study of the activities which were carried on by certain communities of the State, and which are representative of private relief work in the State as a whole. These instances illustrate the fact that in addition to the great amount of sanitary work which was carried on all over the State, the people of Iowa also did much to relieve the distress and suffering at home.

In Muscatine, at the first mass meeting which was held to secure volunteers for the army, a relief committee of citizens was appointed to adopt measures to the end that the families of any men who might volunteer should not suffer in their absence.<sup>253</sup> This was in April, 1861, and a few days later a notice was inserted in the newspapers stating that the families of any volunteers who desired or needed as-

<sup>251</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, June 14, 1861.

<sup>252</sup> Pollock's *State Finances During the Civil War* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVI, p. 88.

<sup>253</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, April 19, 1861.

sistance, or even cared to have some member of the relief committee call, should send their names and addresses to one of the members.<sup>254</sup>

A little later, on June 12th, the county board of supervisors took action and appropriated \$2000 for the support of volunteers' families, to be distributed in the following manner. The clerk of the board of supervisors was to pay out warrants whenever he was presented with a certificate, signed by the secretary and chairman of the citizens' relief committee, stating that the bearer was a member of the family of one of the volunteers, and indicating the amount to which the bearer was entitled. Of the amount appropriated, \$880 was to be used to meet obligations which the committee had already contracted.<sup>255</sup> A statement issued two weeks later indicated that the committee was caring for between forty and fifty families, which were receiving allowances of from one dollar and a half to four dollars per week, the amount being based upon the written statements made by each volunteer before he left.<sup>256</sup> On September 4th the supervisors ordered \$341.42 to be paid to cover additional claims of the relief committee.<sup>257</sup> During the following year, at a special meeting of the board of supervisors, another appropriation was made for the support of the soldiers' dependents.<sup>258</sup>

Coöperation with the county officers in distributing county funds was not, however, the only part played in Muscatine by the benevolent public. The Relief Society of the first and second wards was organized early in December, 1861, for the purpose of caring for the families of volun-

<sup>254</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, April 26, 1861.

<sup>255</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, June 14, 1861.

<sup>256</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, June 28, 1861.

<sup>257</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, September 6, 1861.

<sup>258</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, August 15, 1862.

teers. The third ward Relief Society was organized at about the same time and a committee was appointed to ascertain where relief was needed in the district and report to a soliciting committee.<sup>259</sup> The Union Benevolent Society decided in April, 1862, to meet once a week and sew for the needy people of the community, and all the ladies of the city were invited to attend.<sup>260</sup> The report of this society for the winter of 1862 and 1863 stated that it had raised the sum of \$258.18, which had been used to furnish wood, flour, and other necessities to the families of fifty soldiers. Of this amount eighty-five dollars went for wood, seventy-five dollars for flour, and the balance for groceries, clothing, and medicines. The funds of the society, according to the report, were at that time exhausted, and unless assistance was given soon many families would suffer.<sup>261</sup>

In November, 1863, the *Muscatine Weekly Journal* published an appeal for assistance for many needy families in the community. Because of the high cost of fuel and other necessities, the article pointed out, it was impossible for many families to supply their wants for the winter, which promised to be very severe: there were at least one hundred families who needed help and must have fuel and food. The writer proposed that a public meeting be held at once to appoint committees in each township to visit everyone in their neighborhood and secure contributions of wood, flour, meat, vegetables, or anything that a family could use.<sup>262</sup> Collections of money and provisions were taken in the Methodist and Congregational churches of Muscatine at Thanksgiving time, amounting to \$175.95.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>259</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, December 13, 1861.

<sup>260</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, April 11, 1862.

<sup>261</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, February 20, 1863.

<sup>262</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 20, 1863.

<sup>263</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, December 4, 1863.

These various activities, it must be borne in mind, cover only short periods and are discussed merely to indicate the manner in which the work was carried on, and not as a summary of the work done. In addition to the organizations mentioned, other agencies were in the field. All through the war the Muscatine Soldiers' Aid Society did much to mitigate the sufferings of the families of soldiers as well as to supply the needs of the soldiers themselves.

In many instances and in a great variety of ways private individuals undertook to do something in behalf of those at home who were in need. Soon after the first soldiers departed from the State Dr. William Carus of Iowa City requested the press to announce that he would be glad to give medical attendance free of charge to the families of volunteers during the war.<sup>264</sup> At another time a notice appeared in an Iowa City paper announcing that Mr. Stonehouse had at his saloon on Clinton Street a barrel of corned beef which he would distribute gratis to the poor.<sup>265</sup> Dr. J. S. Horton of Muscatine offered to donate forty cords of wood, upon the condition that the men of the city would cut it and haul it to town.<sup>266</sup> An interesting instance of private benevolence occurred in Dubuque in October, 1864, when a score or more of needy families "were made happy and tenderly grateful" by visits from three unknown women. The women arrived with well-filled baskets, prepared a meal for the families, ate with them, and then departed, their identity remaining unknown. In each case a supply of food and other goods was left for future use, and in most instances a ten dollar bill was found after the visitors had departed.<sup>267</sup>

In August, 1863, the Dubuque Aid Society was reported

<sup>264</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), May 1, 1861.

<sup>265</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), January 27, 1864.

<sup>266</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 20, 1863.

<sup>267</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, November 4, 1864.

to be "overwhelmed with calls for assistance".<sup>268</sup> At Christmas time of that year this society furnished basket dinners to more than forty families — the baskets containing turkeys, chickens, geese, ducks, beef, apples, bread, cake, pies, and many additional delicacies which had been donated by citizens.<sup>269</sup> According to a report of the society in March, 1864, it had during the previous four months spent \$1100 for the relief of eighty families. Sixty of these families had received constant aid, and most of them were entirely dependent upon such support. The assistance had all been given in supplies and grocery orders and none of it in cash.<sup>270</sup> At Christmas the following year an appeal was again made to the people to furnish dinners for soldiers' families, as there were one hundred families that were badly in need of such gifts.<sup>271</sup> During the winter of 1864 and 1865 the Dubuque Aid Society expended \$1141.70 in caring for sixty-three needy families whose natural supporters had been called to war.<sup>272</sup>

Many other communities were likewise called upon to aid those who had been left in their midst without means of providing for themselves. In Keokuk near the close of the year 1863 there were between one hundred and fifty and two hundred families dependent in varying degrees upon the Ladies' Aid Society for their maintenance.<sup>273</sup> About the same time the *Burlington Weekly Argus* called public attention to the fact that there were many families in the community who should be remembered at Christmas, as there was much "hunger, misery, sickness and want" in

<sup>268</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, September 1, 1863.

<sup>269</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, December 29, 1863.

<sup>270</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, March 15, 1864.

<sup>271</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, December 23, 1864.

<sup>272</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, May 23, 1865.

<sup>273</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), December 16, 1863.

their midst.<sup>274</sup> For the year ending October 3, 1864, the Iowa City Soldiers' Aid Society distributed to families of soldiers goods valued at \$747.84. The things given out included "252 yards print, 676 yards muslin, 61 yards flannel, 83 yards jeans, 21 lbs. yarn, 60 pair shoes, 16 socks and mittens, 6 comforts, 850 lbs. flour, 300 lbs. soap, groceries, wood, money; &c."<sup>275</sup>

## IX

## THE SOLDIERS' ORPHANS' HOME

As Mrs. Wittenmyer, in her sanitary work, labored among the soldiers in the hospitals and on the battlefields, she received constant appeals from dying soldiers to provide in some way for their children. To meet this situation she conceived the idea of establishing, somewhere in the State, a home in which all such children could be cared for and educated. At a meeting of the Soldiers' Aid Society of Iowa City on September 23, 1863, which Mrs. Wittenmyer attended, the subject was brought up for discussion<sup>276</sup> and soon afterwards a convention of the Aid Societies of the State was arranged for October 5th, at Muscatine. It was at this meeting that the Iowa State Sanitary Commission<sup>277</sup> was organized "for the purpose of securing a large and constant supply of Sanitary goods, and a faithful application of the same, and for the purpose of building an Orphan Asylum."<sup>278</sup>

One of the first steps taken in behalf of the movement was

<sup>274</sup> *Burlington Weekly Argus*, December 31, 1863.

<sup>275</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), December 14, 1864.

<sup>276</sup> Downer's *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 663.

<sup>277</sup> See Chapter V above.

<sup>278</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, October 16, 1863.

the issuance of an appeal to all the people of Iowa to remember and aid the cause of the orphans upon Thanksgiving Day. "Many of our mighty men", read the appeal, "have fallen — many a brave, true heart has been pierced, and the little eyes at home have looked and wept for the soldier that shall never return. The windows are darkened, the hearthstone has lost its warmth, and the little bare feet must start out on life's thorny and perilous way, alone. . . . Let us, therefore, remember the orphan children of our soldiers, and offer to the Almighty Father on that day, a tribute of gratitude that will be well pleasing in His sight." Ministers were urged to present the cause in their pulpits on Thanksgiving Day, and it was suggested that Soldiers' Aid Societies, Good Templars, and all other benevolent organizations arrange public entertainments to raise money for the enterprise. "Land, town lots, stock in railroads, or other corporations, money, or anything that will bring money" were listed as acceptable gifts.<sup>279</sup>

When, late in November, the Iowa Sanitary Commission absorbed the Iowa State Sanitary Commission,<sup>280</sup> it was deemed advisable to separate the orphans' home project from the sanitary work, and it was placed in the hands of leading men and women of the State who formed a new association which on December 30th was incorporated as the Iowa State Orphan Asylum.<sup>281</sup> The officers of the new

<sup>279</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, November 20, 1863.

<sup>280</sup> See Chapter VI above.

<sup>281</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1864, pp. 204, 205; Darwin's *History of the Iowa State Orphan Asylum* in *The Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, p. 453. The incorporators were Caleb Baldwin, George G. Wright, Ralph P. Lowe, Samuel J. Kirkwood, William M. Stone, J. W. Cattell, N. H. Brainerd, C. C. Cole, Oran Faville, John R. Needham, S. S. Deming, Mrs. Hancock, Mrs. Newcomb, Isaac Pendleton, Mrs. Stephens, James G. Day, Mrs. S. Bagg, Mrs. Cadle, H. C. Henderson, Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Crandall, Mrs. C. B. Darwin, E. H. Williams, J. B. Howell, Mrs. Shields, Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, Miss Mary Kibben, Miss M. E. Shelton, Elijah Sells, Dr. Horton, and C. Dunham.—*Muscatine Weekly Journal*, January 28, 1864.

organization were a president, a vice president from each Congressional District, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a board of trustees composed of two members from each Congressional District. William M. Stone became president; Miss Mary Kibben, recording secretary; Miss M. E. Shelton, corresponding secretary; and N. H. Brainerd, treasurer.<sup>282</sup>

Under the rules of the new association benevolent and religious organizations and individuals were eligible to membership upon the payment of five dollars a year or twenty-five dollars for a life membership. Organizations enrolling as members were entitled to one delegate to all meetings of the association. All benevolent organizations and individuals, as far as possible, were urged to join.<sup>283</sup>

The first meeting of the board of trustees took place on the 4th of February, 1864, at Des Moines. The members discussed methods of financing the undertaking, and decided to appoint agents in each county and sub-agents in each town to solicit subscriptions. Another meeting was held at Davenport in March and as there was a considerable amount of funds in the treasury at that date as a result of the collections taken on Thanksgiving Day the trustees decided to take immediate steps to establish a home. A committee was appointed to lease a building and make arrangements for receiving children, and Rev. P. P. Ingalls was named as general agent to visit every county in the State

<sup>282</sup> The vice presidents were: first district, Mrs. G. G. Wright; second district, Mrs. R. L. Cadle; third district, Mrs. J. T. Hancock; fourth district, John R. Needham; fifth district, J. W. Cattell; and sixth district, Mrs. Mary M. Bagg. The board of trustees consisted of Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer and Mrs. L. B. Stephens from the second district, Oran Faville and E. H. Williams from the third district, T. S. Parvin and Mrs. Shields from the fourth district, Caleb Baldwin and C. C. Cole from the fifth district, and Isaac Pendleton and H. C. Henderson from the sixth district.—*Muscatine Weekly Journal*, January 28, 1864.

<sup>283</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, January 28, 1864.

and every regiment of Iowa men in the army for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions.<sup>284</sup> The agents of the association were paid, not with funds taken from the donations to the home, but with money furnished by a voluntary association of a few individuals.<sup>285</sup>

A committee which had been appointed by the legislature to investigate the proposal that the State should establish an orphans' asylum, made a report in March, 1864. It described the formation and organization of the association, and stated that the Iowa State Orphans' Asylum Association proposed to provide immediately for the wants of orphans by renting a suitable building, until means could be raised to erect a permanent structure.<sup>286</sup>

It was estimated that the cost of maintaining two hundred inmates would be \$15,000 a year. The backers of the institution believed they could raise \$150,000 by voluntary subscriptions through their agents; they hoped to raise \$25,000 among the soldiers, while Aid Societies, religious organizations, the Odd Fellows, and the Masons were expected to give \$15,000. Of the total of \$175,000 or more it was proposed to invest a part in interest-paying bonds or stock as a permanent endowment, while the remainder was to be used in equipping a plant. The promoters hoped the State legislature would appropriate \$5000 or more for the yearly support of the institution.<sup>287</sup>

The committee declared that it was the solemn duty of the State to provide in some way for the support of soldiers' orphans, and the members believed that the organization which had already been formed was one in which

<sup>284</sup> Darwin's *History of the Iowa State Orphan Asylum* in *The Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, pp. 454, 455.

<sup>285</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), July 20, 1864.

<sup>286</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1864, p. 497.

<sup>287</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1864, pp. 497, 498.

the legislature could safely place its confidence. Therefore the recommendation of the committee was that the General Assembly should make an annual appropriation of \$5000 to aid in the support of the enterprise. A bill to that end was introduced by the committee, but failed to pass the legislature.<sup>288</sup>

The project received abundant support from all parts of the State. Contributions of money, clothing, furniture, and other property which was convertible into cash flowed in from all over Iowa. Many of the prominent people of the State gave freely, and those in poorer circumstances gave what they could spare. One of the most significant contributions came from the soldiers in the field, who out of their small pay forwarded \$45,262 for the cause.<sup>289</sup> Nine regiments pledged an average of \$2800 each. One regiment with only 428 men reporting gave \$3,855.50, while another regiment with eight companies present donated \$5239. Companies in various regiments contributed from \$200 to \$820, one company of twenty-nine men giving \$535; another of fifty-seven men gave \$710, another of thirty-seven men gave \$675, and one with seventy-three men gave \$820. In one company two men gave \$75 each, eight men gave \$25 each, one man gave \$15, sixteen men gave \$10 each, and two men gave \$5 each.<sup>290</sup> "There has never been any one work in the State", declares one writer, "that has convened so many people in large and enthusiastic assemblies, filled so many churches and halls, thrilled so many hearts, awakened so much emotion, suffused with tears so many eyes, commanded such great liberality, elicited so many prayers, prompted so many praises, or enlisted so many great minds as the 'Soldiers' Orphans Home'. "<sup>291</sup>

<sup>288</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1864, p. 498.

<sup>289</sup> *Bulletin of Iowa Institutions*, Vol. II, 1900, p. 301.

<sup>290</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), July 20, 1864.

<sup>291</sup> Ingersoll's *Iowa and the Rebellion*, p. 742.

On July 13, 1864, the committee which had been appointed to make arrangements for opening a home reported that a large brick building near Farmington in Van Buren County had been leased and was ready to receive children. Two rooms in the house were to be furnished by the "Young Ladies' League", two by the young women of Muscatine, one by women of Burlington, and one by the little girls of Muscatine, who had held a festival to secure the funds. Ten children were taken to the home before there were beds for them,<sup>292</sup> and within three weeks twenty-one orphans had been admitted.<sup>293</sup> Reports submitted at the second annual meeting of the association at Des Moines in June, 1865, showed that during the first year the Home had "clothed, fed and instructed" ninety-seven children and that many more were waiting for admission.<sup>294</sup> Steps were taken at this meeting to establish branch homes in other parts of the State, and a branch was opened at Cedar Falls on September 28th, with five inmates, in a building originally built for a hotel.<sup>295</sup>

It was also decided at the Des Moines meeting to hold a fair at Marshalltown, beginning on August 28, 1865, for the purpose of raising additional funds.<sup>296</sup> The arrangements were made upon the same general plan as were adopted for the sanitary fairs which had already been held in the State. Contributions were solicited through all the surrounding territory and the response was very generous.<sup>297</sup> When the fair had closed it was found that about \$50,000 had been

<sup>292</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), July 20, 1864.

<sup>293</sup> Downer's *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 663.

<sup>294</sup> *Bulletin of Iowa Institutions*, Vol. II, 1900, pp. 301, 302.

<sup>295</sup> *Report of the Committee to Visit Soldiers' Orphans' Home in the Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1866, Vol. II.

<sup>296</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, June 27, 1865.

<sup>297</sup> Payne's *History of Story County*, Vol. I, p. 272.

realized in cash and from the sale of merchandise which had been contributed.<sup>298</sup> Thus the enterprise was a great success although, according to the *The State Press*, it was "generally conceded to have been a grand humbug; not any credit to the State and rather discreditable to the managers".<sup>299</sup>

An interesting article regarding this fair appeared in the *St. Louis Despatch*, which serves to show the wide publicity which it received, as well as to indicate the preparations which were made for the event. "Marshalltown", according to the writer, "is a short ride by rail from Clinton on the Mississippi, and as the Fair will be open on the 28th of August, it will be a fine opportunity for some of our citizens to mingle benevolence with pleasure in a trip to the breezy prairies of Iowa. The town contains a population of about two thousand, and accommodation has been provided for visitors by procuring one thousand wall tents, and a large number of iron camp bedsteads. With such sleeping arrangements, and the fine shooting and fishing in the immediate neighborhood, there will be a good chance for enjoyment on the occasion."<sup>300</sup>

The quarters of the Home at Farmington soon became inadequate, and in the fall of 1865 the managers decided to move the institution to Davenport. The people of the latter city held a meeting for the purpose of raising funds with which to secure the transfer, \$5200 being raised in a short time.<sup>301</sup> The Camp Kinsman barracks were situated at Davenport, and since they were no longer needed to house the soldiers, a committee was dispatched to Washington

<sup>298</sup> *Bulletin of Iowa Institutions*, Vol. II, 1900, p. 302.

<sup>299</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), September 13, 1865.

<sup>300</sup> Quoted from the *St. Louis Despatch* in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, July 22, 1865.

<sup>301</sup> Downer's *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 664.

and was successful in obtaining the comparatively new barracks as a home for the orphans. All the camp supplies, bed linen, pillows, mattresses, and blankets were included in the gift, which proved almost invaluable as a basis for the new institution.<sup>302</sup> On November 16th, the children, one hundred and fifty in number, were moved from Farmington to Davenport. They were met at the train by the citizens of the town, who first gave them a good breakfast and then escorted them to the old barracks in carriages.<sup>303</sup>

The number of orphans in both the home at Davenport and in the institution at Cedar Falls grew rapidly and thereby a great service was rendered to the people of the State. But as the institutions grew in size it became increasingly difficult to raise sufficient funds to meet the expenses of such a vast undertaking. The result was an appeal to the State for aid, and the appointment by the legislature in January, 1866, of a committee to visit and report on these two institutions. The visits were made in February, and the reports prepared and submitted to the General Assembly presented a survey of the conditions of the homes at that time.<sup>304</sup>

The Cedar Falls branch had been operating for about five months, and was caring for one hundred and two orphans. By finishing all the rooms in the building and making them available for use, one hundred and fifty children could be cared for. The report stated that the children would "compare favorably with an equal number of children gathered promiscuously anywhere. They are all plainly but comfortably clad, and in appearance are bright and

<sup>302</sup> *Bulletin of Iowa Institutions*, Vol. II, 1900, p. 302.

<sup>303</sup> Downer's *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 664; *Bulletin of Iowa Institutions*, Vol. II, 1900, p. 302.

<sup>304</sup> *Report of the Committee to Visit Soldiers' Orphans' Home in the Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1866, Vol. II; *House Journal*, 1866, p. 188.

cheerful, and happy. We found none sick, and there had been no deaths at this Home.”<sup>305</sup>

The committee found that three hundred and thirty-one soldiers’ orphans were under care at Davenport. An epidemic of measles was then passing through the home, one hundred and thirty cases being reported, which had resulted in four deaths. The report stated, however, that this was a much smaller percentage of deaths than occurred from this disease outside of the institution. The estimated value of the property of the home was \$85,353. Its capacity could be extended to accommodate one thousand children by fitting up all the buildings on the premises.<sup>306</sup>

According to the estimate of the committee there would be six hundred children in the two homes within a year. This would mean an expense of \$60,000 or \$65,000. The available means of the corporation were \$37,400 in government bonds, about \$40,000 in subscriptions which “they hope to collect,” and \$2223 in cash. Additional donations and subscriptions were hard to secure and, in the words of the report, “as a private enterprise, this institution cannot be maintained much, if any, to exceed another year; the question then arises, shall the institution be suffered to go down?” The committee recommended that the State “lend a helping hand,” and tax the whole property of the State, in some judicious manner, for the support of the institution.<sup>307</sup>

This movement to secure State aid was followed by the presentation of several petitions to the legislature during

<sup>305</sup> *Report of the Committee to Visit Soldiers’ Orphans’ Home* in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1866, Vol. II.

<sup>306</sup> *Report of the Committee to Visit Soldiers’ Orphans’ Home* in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1866, Vol. II.

<sup>307</sup> *Report of the Committee to Visit Soldiers’ Orphans’ Home* in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1866, Vol. II.

March, from citizens of various counties, asking the State to take charge of the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home.<sup>308</sup> The result of the agitation was the passage of a law on March 31, 1866, providing for the transfer of the property of the corporation to the State, and for the support and regulation of the institution.<sup>309</sup>

A Board of Trustees of the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home was created by this act. The board held its first meeting at Davenport in June, when the property of the homes was formally transferred and they became State institutions.<sup>310</sup> The association during its brief existence had built up an extensive organization, and had collected a large amount of money and property. According to the officers' reports they had obtained subscriptions of \$132,000, of which \$80,000 had been paid in.<sup>311</sup> The property transferred to the State consisted of 273½ acres of land, personal property appraised at \$26,663.35, and \$5,833.69 in cash.<sup>312</sup>

Soon after the State assumed control a third branch of the institution was established at Glenwood in November, 1866.<sup>313</sup> The three homes then continued in operation until 1876, when a radical change was made. The number of soldiers' orphans to be cared for was rapidly decreasing, and there was no further need of three homes. Consequently, the homes at Glenwood and Cedar Falls were dis-

<sup>308</sup> *House Journal*, 1866, pp. 442, 456, 457, 482.

<sup>309</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1866, pp. 83, 84, 85, 86.

<sup>310</sup> *Report of the Officers of the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home*, pp. 5, 6, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1868, Vol. II.

<sup>311</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home*, p. 39, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1868, Vol. II.

<sup>312</sup> *Report of the Officers of the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home*, pp. 5, 6, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1868, Vol. II.

<sup>313</sup> *Report of the Officers of the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home*, pp. 5, 6, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1868, Vol. II.

continued — the first being converted later into a school for the feeble-minded and the property of the latter being turned over to the new State Normal College.<sup>314</sup> All the children were removed to Davenport, and an act was passed which permitted the trustees to admit other destitute children besides the orphans of soldiers.<sup>315</sup>

## X

## LOCAL AID SOCIETIES

Throughout the entire discussion of the relief work of the Civil War period, the part played by local Aid Societies has stood out most prominently. It was through these organizations that the work of the State Commission was made possible; from them the fairs received their most loyal support; the care of the soldiers' families fell heavily upon their shoulders; and in the establishment of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home their support was of the greatest importance. A description of war relief would not, therefore, be complete without at least a brief discussion of the work of these societies.

It has already been noted that local societies were organized in practically every community in the State; and although they operated under various names, such as Aid Societies, Soldiers' Aid Societies, or Ladies Soldiers' Aid Societies, they were all more or less similar in character, and all were working for the same great cause. In many places they were organized as soon as the first Iowa soldiers were called into service; in other localities they developed more slowly. Besides the societies representing each village or city, there were many cases in which county or-

<sup>314</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1876, pp. 119, 145.

<sup>315</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1876, pp. 76, 77, 78.

ganizations were formed to handle matters for the county as a whole, in which instances they usually coöperated with and often aided the smaller societies in their districts. The county relief societies were frequently composed of both men and women, with the latter taking a very active part; the smaller units were generally made up only of the women of the community, although they were enthusiastically supported in their activities by the men.

As revealed by an examination of the newspapers of that time, these societies were constantly busy in the interest of relief work. The women not only devoted their time to sewing and knitting and preparing articles needed by the soldiers, but they were always on the look out for and ready to take advantage of new ideas, by which to obtain additional supplies of sanitary stores and vegetables and raise money. All sorts of entertainments, festivals, and dinners were given, and in many places it seemed that one event had no sooner occurred than arrangements were begun for another. Sometimes these affairs were given for the benefit of the soldiers themselves, and at other times for the purpose of raising funds with which to relieve distress among soldiers' families. These numerous activities were not always carried on directly under the auspices of the Aid Societies, but in most cases the proceeds were turned over to them for distribution.

Many of the schemes used to obtain money and support were unique and interesting. At Iowa City, in January, 1862, the St. Vincent De Paul Society arranged for a grand supper at the Metropolitan Hall to raise funds for the poor of the city.<sup>316</sup> During the following March the Aid Society received thirty-four dollars as its share of the receipts from a performance of the Campbell Minstrels.<sup>317</sup> Later

<sup>316</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), January 22, 1862.

<sup>317</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), March 26, 1862.

in the year a festival was staged by the Aid Society, by means of which the sum of about two hundred dollars was cleared to purchase hospital supplies.<sup>318</sup> A fair was held early in 1863 by the ladies of Father Emond's church and it was announced that a liberal percentage of the proceeds would be donated to the relief of soldiers.<sup>319</sup> Another festival was arranged by the Aid Society in June which brought in over four hundred dollars,<sup>320</sup> and toward the close of the year, when there was much distress among the families of soldiers, the same organization held a donation party to which people were requested to bring "Articles useful in a family". An admission fee of twenty-five cents was charged and "Subscriptions payable in wood, flour, meat, drygoods, groceries, boots and shoes, hats and caps" were requested.<sup>321</sup>

The first event along this line in Iowa City for the year 1864 was a dance to raise funds for the relief of soldiers' families, at which the receipts were thirty-six dollars and the expenditures thirty-eight dollars and fifty cents, but undismayed by the deficit, the promoters proposed to hold another dance two weeks later, at which "a good supper and good music" were to be furnished and officers "secured to maintain good order."<sup>322</sup> Closely following the above unsuccessful attempt the Bohemian Relief Society gave a ball "for the benefit of the poor and needy among their brethren,"<sup>323</sup> and the German Supporting Society staged a masquerade ball to raise funds for aiding families among the German population.<sup>324</sup> Mr. G. Folsom who operated a

<sup>318</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), October 4, 1862.

<sup>319</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), December 27, 1862, January 10, 1863.

<sup>320</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), June 20, 1863.

<sup>321</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), December 9, 1863.

<sup>322</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), January 20, 1864.

<sup>323</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), January 13, 1864.

<sup>324</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), February 3, 1864.

toll bridge offered to set aside the tolls on one day each month for the Iowa City Ladies' Aid Society, and altogether he added one hundred and eighty-nine dollars to the Society's funds.<sup>325</sup> Even the children seemed to catch the spirit of the time and in August, 1865, a fair and festival for the Orphans' Home was given by the little girls of the city.<sup>326</sup>

Dubuque was also the scene of much activity of a similar nature. While the State Fair was in progress in September, 1863, the ladies of the Aid Society conducted a dining room where they served "a desert as rich as was ever served at the St. Nicholas in New York", and realized a good sum for their work.<sup>327</sup> The following week the Aid Society received over one hundred and forty-two dollars from a concert given at the Congregational church, and seventy-two dollars and fifty cents from a gymnastic exhibition.<sup>328</sup> On Thanksgiving Day in 1863 and 1864, the churches took up collections for the soldiers' families, one hundred and forty-five dollars being realized the first year,<sup>329</sup> and one hundred and sixteen dollars the second year.<sup>330</sup> In January, 1864, a special case of destitution demanded special attention and relief, which was secured by taking a collection amounting to fifty dollars from strangers stopping at the Julien House.<sup>331</sup> At one time it was suggested by the press that arrangements for a "vegetable holiday" be made, as it was believed such an occasion would result in such "a turnout of men, women and children, with flags and

<sup>325</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), February 17, December 28, 1864.

<sup>326</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), August 2, 1865.

<sup>327</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, September 18, 1863, March 15, 1864.

<sup>328</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, September 29, 1863.

<sup>329</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, December 1, 1863.

<sup>330</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, November 29, 1864.

<sup>331</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, January 8, 1864.

banners, potatoes, pickles, onions and kraut, as has never before been seen.”<sup>332</sup>

On Christmas Day, 1863, citizens of Marion cut and split one hundred and fifty cords of wood for the benefit of “war widows”.<sup>333</sup> At Farley, about the same time, a festival netted the promoters seventy dollars, which with other contributions previously received was sufficient to relieve the wants of the soldiers’ families at that time.<sup>334</sup> A festival was also held by the Soldiers’ Aid Society of Epworth during the following April, at which eighty dollars in cash was realized.<sup>335</sup>

Many soldiers’ families in Keokuk were in need of fuel during December, 1863, and in order to supply this need a “wood procession” was arranged. Farmers from the surrounding country were asked to bring in a load of wood for the poor upon a certain designated day. Upon the appointed day one observer counted one hundred and eight farmers coming in over a single road between ten and twelve o’clock, with their wagons loaded with wood, and in many cases with large quantities of flour and vegetables. When all were formed into a procession they made a line over a mile in length and, headed by a band and banners, the parade passed through the streets of the city. About one hundred cords of wood were received by the Aid Society, which at the existing price was valued at five hundred dollars.<sup>336</sup>

From one of the smaller towns comes an interesting report of a “Mush-and-Milk-Festival”. This affair occurred at Washington, and was described as “one of the richest

<sup>332</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, November 1, 1864.

<sup>333</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), February 3, 1864.

<sup>334</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, January 1, 1864.

<sup>335</sup> *Dubuque Semi-Weekly Times*, April 15, 1864.

<sup>336</sup> *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), December 16, 1863.

and raciest occasions we ever attended. . . . The repast, consisting of mush-and-milk, was then partaken of, out of tin cups, each partaker furnishing his or her own spoon. For a time the rattle of cups entirely drowned the music of the band. The mush was dished out steaming hot from pans, the milk poured from sprinkling cans, jugs, &c.". From this event the sum of eighty-four dollars was realized for soldiers' relief.<sup>337</sup>

Early in the spring of 1863 Mr. Gabriel Little, who lived about three miles out of Muscatine, offered thirty acres of land for growing potatoes for the soldiers and their families, upon the condition that a picnic party should be organized to plant them. The offer was accepted, and the planting was completed in less than a day, "by a voluntary, spontaneous and almost *instantaneous* gathering of loyal-hearted men, women and children." The field was cared for by neighboring farmers and voluntary workers and again in the fall a picnic was organized to harvest the crop. This event was described as follows:

Yesterday was the time set for digging the potatoes. Accordingly about 200 persons, of all ages and conditions, from the grey-haired sire and matron to the school boy and girl just entering their teens, assembled and went to work with a will, using plows, harrows, hoes and *fingers* to gather the esculents from their native soil. If our soldier boys could have looked upon the scene, and beheld their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and sweethearts, engaged in the laudable and laborious work of providing for their comfort, their hearts would have been cheered and their resolutions strengthened in the noble cause in which they are engaged. Although most of those at work were novices at farm labor, they made good progress, and by four o'clock two thirds of the 'patch' had been gone over and the potatoes hauled to the city and stored away.

<sup>337</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, March 4, 1864.

The crop amounted to about one thousand bushels, and since potatoes were selling at sixty cents, "with a prospect of being a dollar before New Year", it meant a large addition to the stores of the Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society.<sup>338</sup>

It was through such activities as these and many others that the Aid Societies were able to forward such large amounts of supplies to the armies and at the same time aid the poor at home. Just what many of the organizations really accomplished is shown by their periodical reports. In Polk County and Des Moines several societies were operating during the war. One of these, which was organized December 17, 1864, arranged a festival for the last day of the same month which cleared \$4245. By the close of hostilities this society had raised \$7261.<sup>339</sup> The Independence Aid Society was formed October 25, 1861, and at the end of the following month was prepared to send forward its first box, containing twenty quilts, twelve straw ticks, twenty-four pillows, twenty-eight shirts, thirty pairs of socks, and various smaller articles.<sup>340</sup>

By cash contributions and a course of lectures, the Council Bluffs Soldiers' Aid Society for the first five months of 1865, raised \$504, of which \$299 was turned over to the Christian Commission, and the remainder given to the Chicago Sanitary Fair.<sup>341</sup> From September 26, 1861, the date of its organization, to July 1, 1862, the Muscatine Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society had sent sixteen boxes and barrels, valued at \$1,250.95, to the Keokuk organization and the Iowa Army Sanitary Commission. This first re-

<sup>338</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, May 29, July 10, October 23, 1863.

<sup>339</sup> Dixon's *Centennial History of Polk County*, pp. 126, 127, 128; Porter's *Annals of Polk County, Iowa, and City of Des Moines*, pp. 210, 211, 212.

<sup>340</sup> *Buchanan County Guardian* (Independence), October 22, 29, December 3, 1861.

<sup>341</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 20, 1865.

port of the organization stated that the society had met every week since its formation and would continue to do so "as long as there is a soldier to care for, and a rag can be found in Muscatine large enough to make lint."<sup>342</sup> During the last six months of 1862 this society forwarded supplies valued at \$792.60.<sup>343</sup>

The report of the treasurer of the Iowa City Aid Society for the first year estimated the total amount of its contributions in money and materials to be over \$1000. For the year closing in October, 1864, the same society sent supplies valued at \$276.50 to the Orphans' Home; goods worth \$747.84 were distributed among soldiers' families; and \$2, 155.87 worth of sanitary stores were forwarded to the armies. Thus, to the three causes this one society made a total contribution of \$3,180.21 during a single year.<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, July 4, 1862.

<sup>343</sup> *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, January 30, 1863; *The State Press* (Iowa City), November 8, 1862.

<sup>344</sup> *The State Press* (Iowa City), December 14, 1864.

## THE DEATH OF GENERAL ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF SHILOH

There have been many varying stories told of the death of General Albert Sidney Johnston, commanding the Confederate army, at the Battle of Shiloh; and these stories have varied greatly as to the exact place where he fell, as to what he was doing at the time of receiving the mortal wound, and as to how the wound was inflicted. It has been widely believed, especially in the South, that General Johnston was leading a charge against the Union lines when he was struck. Such a story might well be discarded as untrue, even if there was not positive evidence to the contrary. Such an act on the part of the commander of an army would be the height of folly.

Fortunately we have the true story as told by the only person who was at General Johnston's side during the brief moments between the receiving of the wound and the closing of his eyes in death. Isham G. Harris, Volunteer Aid on General Johnston's staff, was that person. At the opening of the Civil War, Isham G. Harris was Governor of the State of Tennessee. As Governor, he refused to respond to President Lincoln's call for troops, but cast in his lot with General Johnston's army when it evacuated Nashville, after the surrender of Fort Donelson. Thus Harris became a member of Johnston's staff and was present in that capacity at the battle of Shiloh. In 1896 when Harris, after long and persistent persuasion on the part of the friends of Gen. Johnston, consented to visit Shiloh Park and clear up the confusion that had so long enveloped the

death of his chief, he was representing the State of Tennessee in the United States Senate.

The writer hereof has in his possession a carbon copy of a letter from Maj. D. W. Reed, Secretary and Historian of the Shiloh National Military Park Commission, to General Basil W. Duke, a member of the Commission, describing in detail the visit of Senator Harris to the battle ground for the purpose of identifying the spot where General Johnston fell and of telling what he remembered of the incident. As far as the writer knows, this correspondence has never had publication in any more permanent form than that of local newspapers. Unless General Duke has preserved the original this carbon duplicate is the only original copy of the account in existence. The story seems to be of sufficient historical value to deserve publication in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS.

JOSEPH W. RICH

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA  
IOWA CITY IOWA

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LETTER DESCRIBING THE DEATH OF GENERAL JOHNSTON

[Following is the letter of Major D. W. Reed to General Duke describing the visit of Senator Harris to Shiloh Park for the purpose above indicated.]

July 30, 1906.

General BAZIL W. DUKE,  
Louisville, Ky.

Dear General:—

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 6th instant in which you refer to the account I gave you of the identification by Senator Harris of the spot where General Johnston was killed, and asking me to put the account in writing just as I told it to you.

In April 1896, Colonel Looney wrote me that Senator Isham G. Harris, who was Governor of Tennessee in 1862, and was serving as Volunteer Aid on the staff of General

Albert Sidney Johnston at the battle of Shiloh, had consented to visit the field for the purpose of fixing the place where General Johnston fell, and asking me to meet the Senator at Corinth and accompany him to the battle field.

On the road from Corinth I attempted to ask the Senator something in regard to the purpose of his visit. He checked me at once and said: "Please do not ask me to say anything about that. The whole subject of Shiloh is a bitter memory which I do not allow myself to talk about or think about when I can help it. I have never visited the field since the battle and would not now except at the urgent request of the friends of General Johnston. I have retained in my memory a very distinct picture of the events of that day which has never been disturbed by discussing any of the questions regarding the battle, or reading any of the accounts and I believe that I can, if allowed to retain that picture undisturbed, locate the exact place where the General fell and where he died, but if I were to listen to the opinions of others and discuss the matter I might get confused."

Arriving at Pittsburg Landing, we found a large number of the friends of the Senator assembled to greet him and anxious to assist him. He repelled all allusions to the subject of his visit, and to General Buell, who invited him to a seat in his carriage, he said: "You will please excuse me, General, for until the matter I have in hand is disposed of I desire to be alone." He then asked to be supplied with a riding horse and asked me to get a horse and go with him. When mounted he said: "Now, Major, I wish you to ride ahead and conduct me, by nearest route, to a point near the right of our line where there is a small stream running nearly east with quite high banks, say seventy or eighty feet high, on this side of the stream. When you are at that place please stop and leave me to myself". Remembering a

place on Locust Grove Branch, south of the Peach Orchard that answered this description, I led the way to the spring near Prentiss' head-quarters and then down the ravine until the left bank was quite high when I stopped and told the Senator that we were near the Confederate right and asked him if the other conditions suited him. He asked if there was a camp just back and to our right? I told him there was the camp of the 18th Wisconsin. He then rode up the bluff and spent some time in a careful examination of the place, then taking position near the edge of the bluff, his face towards the front, called me to him and said: "Here, within ten steps of the place where I am, General Johnston sat on his horse for an hour and a half or two hours from about noon on Sunday, putting his Reserve in position. Everything is perfectly natural just as I remember it. There is the stream where our orderlies went for water and where soldiers were filling their canteens, over there was the camp that we passed through in coming here. I cannot be mistaken, this is the place." At my suggestion General Buell and others who had been following the movements, were called and the Senator told them as he told me, that: "Here General Johnston, with his staff around him, was stationed from soon after noon to about 2 o'clock while he was putting Breckinridge's Reserve Corps in position."

He then said to me: "I want to go about half a mile in what seems to me to be a due north course. You will know best how to get through these thick brush. Lead the way and when you have gone half a mile stop." I asked him if he remembered seeing any fields or clearings in going that half mile? He thought a moment and then said: "Yes there was a clearing on the right, and at the end of the half mile there should be a large field on our left." With this information I conducted him to the south east corner of the Peach Orchard field and halted. The Senator rode out into

that field but after a brief survey rode east across the Hamburg and Savannah road and stopped near a large oak tree, where he sat for several minutes and then went to the ravine fifty yards in the rear where he was out of my sight for a time. He returned to the big tree and motioned to me to come to him. He was seated on his horse, exactly where the Johnston monument now stands, his face to the front. As I approached he said: "General Johnston was following the advance of Bowen's brigade: He had sent all the members of his staff to other parts of the field with orders: I was the last to leave him, with an order to put Statham's brigade in motion across the field to our left. (Peach Orchard) When I returned General Johnston was alone, sitting on his horse near a large oak tree. I saw him reel in the saddle and rode to his side, threw my right arm around him and asked: 'General, are you hurt?' He replied: 'Yes I fear seriously.' I supported him in the saddle and guided the two horses to the ravine in the rear: lifted him from his horse and placed him on the ground and called to the only person in sight, a soldier resting under a tree, sent him to the line in front for a brandy flask. About this time some of the members of the staff came riding down from the left and we tore open the Generals uniform in search of the wound but did not find it until after he was dead. He was unconscious from the time I took him from his horse and died in a few minutes, at 2:30 p. m. Some one called an ambulance in which the body was placed and started on the road to Corinth, and I reported to General Beauregard."

The Senator then explained that everything around the place was perfectly natural, and fitted the picture he had in mind: the field where Statham's brigade was put in motion: the large lone oak tree under which the General sat: the ravine to the rear where the soldier was resting: the leaning tree in the ravine under which the General died, are all

here just as they were then. I say emphatically, this is the place. I cannot be mistaken."

I suggested that the people here have a tradition that the General was killed further to the front, and that he was the only person living who could convince them of their error, and asked him to remain where he was and allow me to call the many people, who had been following in the distance, and that he tell them the story as he had told it to me. He readily consented, and retold it in his own convincing way, satisfying every one that heard him that he was exactly right in all of his conclusions. One person only, seeming to wish to hear more said: "A soldier who was one of General Johnston's scouts says that he saw the General fall and that it was on the north side of the Peach Orchard while leading a charge of the Tennessee brigade." The Senator replied: "That is impossible. The story that he was leading a charge is a fallacy: He was behind the lines directing the movements of the reserve: was alone when hit, undoubtedly by a stray shot fired by the enemy retreating before Bowen's men: no one but members of his staff saw him fall, or knew of his death until it was reported by them to General Beauregard."

I asked the Senator to put his statements all in writing for the record files of the office. He said that he would do so as soon as he got home, but evidently did not do so as it never reached the office.

While on the way from Corinth the Senator expressed himself as not in sympathy with the effort to keep alive the memories of the war by improving these battle-fields. Better, he said, if we could blot out all its memories so that there might be no remembrances of it among the participants or among their children. After his ride over the Park and after he had seen what was being done, he said: "I have changed my mind about your work here, and say

that I am pleased with your plans and will take pleasure in doing anything I can, in Congress or out, to assist you in the work."

The monument, erected by the National Commission, on the spot where Senator Harris says the General was when he saw him reel in the saddle, bears an inscription on a bronze tablet as follows:

"General Albert Sidney Johnston, Commanding the Confederate army, was mortally wounded here at 2:30 P. M. April 6, 1862. Died in the ravine, 50 yards south-east."

In the ravine under a leaning tree is an iron tablet with colored letters bearing this inscription:

"General Albert Sidney Johnston, Commanding the Confederate Army, Died here at 2:30 P. M. April 6, 1862".

Following this heading is a synopsis of the story of Senator Harris as recited in the foregoing.

Respectfully submitted by yours sincerely,  
I certify that above (Signed) D. W. REED  
is an exact carbon copy Secretary.  
of the original letter. D. W. REED

## SOME PUBLICATIONS

*The Political History of the Public Lands from 1840 to 1862.* By GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, Ph. D. Boston: Richard C. Badger. 1917. Pp. 296. Plates. It no longer requires any argument to convince any one acquainted with American history that the public domain has been the most potent single factor in determining the character of our history and institutions. Hence the value of a study such as that presented in this volume goes without question. The scope of the work is indicated in the author's statement that he has attempted "to trace the history of the public land legislation in Congress, to portray the sentiment of the different sections of the country relative to the disposal of the public domain, and to estimate the influence of the public lands on the political and legislative situation in general in the period from 1840 to 1862." An examination of the volume indicates that these purposes have been accomplished in a satisfactory manner. Especially interesting are the chapters dealing with homestead legislation.

Iowans will find much to interest them in this volume. Not only was the author born in Iowa, but he draws no small part of his data from early Iowa newspapers, and there are frequent references to the action and attitude of Iowa men in Congress. Possibly he might with justice have given more credit to Senator James Harlan for his effective support of the homestead bill. The volume is abundantly supplied with notes and references; it has a bibliography which furnishes ample evidence of the author's diligence in research; and it is provided with a good index.

*Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779.* Edited with introduction and notes by LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1916. Pp. 509. Portraits, plates, map. This is volume twenty-three of the *Collections* of the Society, and volume four in the *Draper Series*. It will be recalled that Dr. Phelps is joint editor with the late Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites

of three volumes of documents dealing with earlier phases of the Revolutionary War in the West. The present volume, although appearing in a different form than its predecessors, is a part of the same general plan.

The documents contained in this volume cover the period from May, 1778, to July, 1779, but, as the editor points out in her introduction, "within these fifteen months occurred the most momentous events of the Revolution in the West, fraught with important consequences, not only for the western frontier but for the success of the war and for the future of the American people." Letters from the correspondence of Edward Hand, Lachlan McIntosh, John Gibson, Daniel Brodhead, John Heckewelder, and many other men who played large parts in the American conquest of the West afford an intimate personal view of the events of the period. The documents are supplied with an abundance of editorial notes, and there is an excellent index.

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A useful list of references on the submarine is to be found in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for January.

The Library of Congress has issued a *Calendar of the Papers of Franklin Pierce*, compiled by W. L. Leech. A letter from Senator George W. Jones of Iowa, and two letters from Augustus C. Dodge, then Minister to Spain, are listed in the calendar.

*The State Constitutions and the Federal Constitution and Organic Laws of the Territories and other Colonial Dependencies of the United States of America*, compiled and edited by Charles Kettleborough, is a very useful volume of over sixteen hundred pages published by B. F. Bowen & Company of Indianapolis.

Volume twenty-seven of *The American Nation: A History*, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, has recently been issued by Harper & Brothers. The volume is written by Frederic Austin Ogg and is entitled *National Progress 1907-1917*.

Grace Gardner Griffin's annual bibliography of *Writings on American History*, covering publications for the year 1915, has been issued from the Yale University Press.

*Health Insurance* is the topic of discussion in the December issue of *The American Labor Legislation Review*. The March number contains numerous articles dealing with various phases of *Labor in War Time*.

*America's Place in the World*, by George Louis Beer; *The American Essay in War Time*, by Agnes Repplier; *A Plea for Honesty*, by Moorfield Storey; *The Expansion of our Army*, by William A. Ganoe; *The Science of Citizenship*, by Ellsworth Huntington; and *The Railways in Peace and War*, by Samuel O. Dunn, are among the articles in the January number of *The Yale Review*.

In *The Survey* for December 22, 1917, there is an article on *The Trend of Social Service*, by Robert A. Woods, in which there is a discussion of the character and progress of social work in Iowa and other States of this region.

*The Socialist Vote in the Municipal Elections of 1917*, by Paul H. Douglas; *Wooden Cities: The National Army Cantonments*, by John Ihlder; *Patriotism in Canadian Cities*, by Mrs. H. P. Plumptre; and *Recent Developments in the Public Utility Field Affecting Franchise Policies and Municipal Ownership*, by Delos F. Wilcox, are among the articles in the March number of the *National Municipal Review*.

*A History of the Australian Ballot System in the United States* is the subject of a doctor's dissertation by Eldon Cobb Evans, which has been published by the University of Chicago Press.

The annual *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* for the year 1916, edited by George M. Wrong, H. H. Langton, and W. Stewart Wallace, has been issued from the University of Toronto Press.

Volume seven, number four of the *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York* contains a number of addresses and papers on the general topic of the *Economic Conditions of Winning the War*, edited by Henry Raymond Mussey. The sub-topics are: conservation and thrift; transportation, shipping,

and aircraft production; relations of labor and capital; and welfare of soldiers and sailors.

*The Story of Josiah Henson*, by W. B. Hartgrove; and *Slavery in California*, by Delilah L. Beasley, are among the articles in the January number of *The Journal of Negro History*.

The articles in *The Military Historian and Economist* for October are the following: *German Military Theory at the Outbreak of the War*, by General Palat; *Man and Nature at Port Hudson, 1863-1917*, by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr.; *Population and War*, by S. Hutter; and *The Oil Factor in Mexico*, by Julius Klein. There is also a continuation of the *Personal Memoirs of General D. S. Stanley*.

*War Administration of the Railways in the United States and Great Britain* is the title of a monograph by Frank H. Dixon and Julius H. Parmalee which has recently been published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in its series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*.

The periodical known as *Americana* will hereafter be published quarterly instead of monthly by the American Historical Society instead of by the National Americana Society. The magazine has been enlarged in size and its appearance has been improved. In the January number there appear, among others, the following articles: *The Decline of English Influence in Turkey*, by Wilma Orem; *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, by Arthur W. H. Eaton; *The Brave Industry of Whaling*, by Zephaniah W. Pease; and *The Northwest Territory and the Ordinance of 1787*, by Charles A. Ingraham.

*Financing the War* is the general topic of discussion in the January number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The various papers are grouped in six parts dealing with the task of financing the war, borrowing by the government, the relationship between loans and taxes, government loans and inflation, the proper kind of taxes, and the finan-

cial experiences of our allies. The March number is devoted to the discussion of *War Adjustments in Railroad Regulation*. Railroad regulation on trial, war pressure for adequate service, present effects of war control of railroads, and continuing problems of public policy are the main topics under which the subject is discussed. There are also some documents and statistics pertinent to current railroad problems.

*The Visit of the French Mission, April-May, 1917*, by Walter W. Spooner; *The Alsace-Lorraine Question*, contributed by the French High Commission; and *Belgium and the Rocky Mountain Club*, by Walter W. Spooner, are among the articles in the October-December number of *The Journal of American History*.

Among the articles in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for January are the following which are of historical interest: *A General Survey of the Anti-Slavery Movement in England*, by Frank J. Klingberg; *Political and Social Aspects of Luther's Message*, by William K. Boyd; and *Some New Light on John Paul Jones*, by S. A. Ashe.

#### WESTERN AMERICANA

A recent volume in the series of *University of Michigan Publications* deals with *The Life and Work of George Sylvester Morris*, for many years a member of the faculty of the University of Michigan, written by R. M. Wenley.

The January number of *The Road-Maker* contains, among other things, a review of *One Year's Experience in the Federal Aid Road Law*, by Logan W. Page.

*Anglo-Saxon Ideals*, by Vernon P. Squires; *Norway's Struggle for Freedom*, by Samuel Torgerson; *Who Ought to Have Wealth?*, by George M. Janes; and *Woman and Her Future*, by John Morris Gillette, are among the articles in *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* for January.

Number eight of the *Studies in the Social Sciences* published by the University of Minnesota consists of a monograph on *The Petition of Right* by Frances Helen Relf.

An address on the career of George Berkeley, by George Herbert Palmer; a paper on *The War and the English Constitution*, by Ludwik Ehrlich; and a discussion of *The Reconstruction of France after the War*, by Gilbert Chinard, are contributions in the July, 1917, number of *The University of California Chronicle*.

*The Battle of Slim Buttes*, fought in 1876 against the Sioux Indians, is the title of a short article which appears in the January number of the *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association*.

The October-December number of *The American Indian Magazine* is a "Special Sioux Number". Among the articles are the following: *The Fighting Sioux*, by Chauncey Yellow Robe; *The Sioux Outbreak of 1862*, by Arthur C. Parker; *The Situation at Santee*, by S. M. Brosius; *The Sioux of Yesterday and To-day*, by Charles A. Eastman, and *The Truth About the Wounded Knee Massacre*, copied from the *Lincoln Daily Star*.

A detailed analysis of *The Language of the Salinian Indians*, by J. Alden Mason; an interesting historical account of *The Yana Indians*, by T. T. Waterman; a study of *Yahi Archery*, by Saxton T. Pope; and a brief discussion of *Yana Terms of Relationship*, by Edward Sapir, are recent numbers of the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*.

Harrison Clifford Dale is the author of a volume on *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*, which has been brought out by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland. The author's account of the expeditions is accompanied by the original narratives by William H. Ashley and Jedediah S. Smith, and by portions of two journals kept by Harrison C. Rogers, a member of Smith's party. "The expeditions of William Henry Ashley and Jedediah Strong Smith", says the author in the preface, "are but two divisions of one enterprise, the discovery and utilization of a central route to the Pacific by way of the Platte, the Interior Basin, and the Colorado River. Ashley and his men platted the course as far as Green River and the Great Salt Lake by way of the North Platte and the South

Platte; Smith, Ashley's successor in business, continued the latter's explorations, reaching California by way of the Colorado River and the Mohave Desert, returning from central California, eastward, across the present state of Nevada, to the Great Salt Lake again. A second expedition carried Smith, the first white man, the entire length of California and Oregon to the Columbia."

#### IOWANA

In the October-December number of *Iowa Conservation* T. C. Stephens presents *A Review of Wild Life Protection in Iowa*; and James H. Lees discusses *Park Sites Along Des Moines Valley*.

Biographical sketches of Dr. A. G. Field; some interesting reminiscences of the Polk County Medical Society; and an article on the history of *The Iowa State Medical Society*, by D. S. Fairchild, are among the contributions in the April, 1917, number of *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society*.

*Our Sons at Camp Dodge* is the title of a book of pictures issued by the *Des Moines Register* and *Evening Tribune*, which is of interest now and of value for future preservation.

*The Contribution of the Smith-Hughes Act to Home Economics*, by Genevieve Fisher; and *Suggestions for Teaching Patriotism in Our Rural Schools*, by Jessie M. Parker, are among the articles in *Midland Schools* for February.

Among the many papers in volume twenty-four of the *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science* is one by James H. Lees on *Some Fundamental Concepts of Earth History*.

A biographical sketch of the late Bernard Murphy, the veteran editor of the *Vinton Eagle*; and a short article entitled *Some Newspaper History*, dealing with the period when the General Assembly subscribed for newspapers for its members, are to be found in the March number of *The Corn Belt Publisher*, printed at Denison, Iowa.

A review of *Bridge Patent Litigation in Iowa*, by Thomas H. MacDonald; and *The Engineer — His Duty to his Community and*

*his Country*, by H. Haugen, are articles in the January number of *The Iowa Engineer*.

*The Scotch-Irish and Charles Scott's Descendants and Related Families*, by Orion C. Scott, is a book which contains biographical data concerning a number of residents of Iowa, past and present.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Journal of History* published at Lamoni by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints are the following: a continuation of *Voices and Visions of the Yesterdays*, by Vida E. Smith; *Polygamy from an Official Standpoint*, by Heman C. Smith; and *Mississippi River Dam*, by Heman C. Smith.

*The Overdraft Evil as Illustrated by Conditions in Iowa Banks*, by Nathaniel R. Whitney, is an article which has been reprinted from the March number of the *American Economic Review*.

A digest of the *Law of Municipal Elections in Iowa*, and a paper on *American Municipalities in War Time*, by Robert E. Cushman, are among the contents of the February number of *American Municipalities*. In the March number, among other things, L. C. Busch describes *Rome's War Chest Association*, which constitutes a unique method of raising funds for war work.

The January number of the *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin* contains a list of the accidents on Iowa highways during the year 1917. The list indicates that these accidents resulted in 281 deaths and 5208 injuries.

*The City Builder* is the title of a publication issued by the Iowa City Commercial Club, the first number of which appeared in February.

The January and February numbers of *The Iowa Alumnus* contain continuations of the "Honor Roll" of University students, alumni, and faculty members who are in some branch of war service. Two articles in the February number are: *The Graduate College*, by Dan Elbert Clark; and *For the Good of the Ship: The*

*Story of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station*, by Emerson Hough.

A very interesting autobiography of Henry Wallace has been running for several months in *Wallaces' Farmer* under the heading of *Uncle Henry's Own Story*.

A brief biographical sketch of the late Rev. A. L. Frisbie is to be found in the January number of *The Grinnell Review*. In the March number there is a discussion of *Education and Internationalism* and a description of Grinnell's service flag.

*William Hollis Wynn — A Tribute*, by J. N. Bradley; a sketch of the life of John M. Wells; and an article entitled *A Glimpse of the Remarkable Work of Geo. W. Carver, the Negro Scientist*, by Littell McClung, are among the contents of *The Alumnus of Iowa State College* for January. The February number contains the *Ames Service Roll*. A sketch of the career of Dr. Sesco Stewart is to be found in the March issue.

*The National Economy Campaign*, by Gates W. McGarrah, is an article in the February number of *The Northwestern Banker*. Frank Warner discusses the *War Savings Campaign in Iowa* in the March issue.

Three articles are to be found in the *Iowa Law Bulletin* for January, namely: *Residence and Domicil*, by Joseph H. Beale; *Progress in Uniform State Legislation*, by S. R. Child; and the second installment of the study of *Judicial Relaxation of the Carrier's Liability*, by R. M. Perkins. The latter monograph is concluded in the March number, and there is also an article by Herbert F. Goodrich on *Permanent Structures and Continuing Injuries: The Iowa Rule*.

*The Iowa Magazine* for February opens with an illustrated account of a visit to the Indians in Tama County. Other articles are: “*The Ledges*”—*Nature's Gift to Iowa*, by Carl F. Henning; *Iowa State Council of National Defense*, by George Gallarno; *An Ambassador—Joseph Fort Newton*, by Bert V. Chappel; and *Turning Social Liabilities into Assets*, by Don W. Hutchinson, in which is set

forth the theory of prison reform practiced by former Warden Sanders at the Fort Madison Penitentiary.

## SOME RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Adams, Henry Carter,

*Description of Industry: An Introduction to Economics.* New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1917.

*Borrowing as a Phase of War Financiering* (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1918).

Athearn, Walter Scott,

*Religious Education and American Democracy.* Boston: Pilgrim Press. 1917.

Ayres, Philip Wheelock,

*Lincoln as a Neighbor* (Review of Reviews, February, 1918).

Bashford, Herbert,

*At the Shrine of Song* (new edition). Los Angeles: W. T. Potter. 1917.

Bauer, George Neander (joint author),

*Plane and Spherical Trigonometry.* New York: D. C. Heath & Co. 1917.

*Logarithmic and Trigonometric Tables.* New York: D. C. Heath & Co. 1917.

Bess, Elmer Allen,

*College Men in the Army* (School and Society, February 16, 1918).

Brewer, Luther Albertus,

*Beside Our Fire-place.* Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1917.

Butler, Ellis Parker,

*Huts of the White Knights* (Touchstone, January, 1918).

Devine, Edward Thomas,

*Social Problems of the War* (Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1917).

Ferber, Edna,

*Why I am For the Y. M. C. A.* (Touchstone, January, 1918).

Ficke, Arthur Davison,

*Prayer Before Summer* (Bookman, November, 1917).

Heilman, Ralph Emerson,

*What is the Remedy for Diminishing Profits?* (System, February, 1918).

Hillis, Newell Dwight,

*German Atrocities: Their Nature and Philosophy.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1918.

*England's Transformation* (Canadian Magazine, December, 1917).

Hornaday, William T.,

*A Searchlight on Germany.* New York: American Defense Society. 1917.

Hughes, Rupert,

*Long Ever Ago.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1918.

Lewis, Ervin Eugene,

*Foreign Languages and Mathematics as Requirements for Admission to, and Graduation from, American Colleges and Universities* (School Review, January, 1918).

MacLean, George Edwin,

*Studies in Higher Education in Ireland and Wales.* Washington: Government Printing Office. 1917.

*Studies in Higher Education in England and Scotland.* Washington: Government Printing Office. 1917.

Pearce, James Newton (joint author),

*The Electromotive Force and Free Energy of Dilution of Lithium Chloride in Aqueous and Alcoholic Solutions* (Journal of the American Chemical Society, March, 1918).

Ross, Edward Alsworth,

*Adult Recreation as a Social Problem* (American Journal of Sociology, January, 1918).

Russell, Charles Edward,

*New Socialist Alignment* (Harper's Monthly Magazine, March, 1918).

Scott, Orion C.,

*The Scotch-Irish and Charles Scott's Descendants and Related Families.* Berwyn, Illinois: Published by the author. 1917.

Stephenson, George M.,

*The Political History of the Public Lands from 1840 to 1862.*

Boston: Richard G. Badger. 1917.

Thorne, Clifford,

*Government Operation of American Railroads* (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1918).

Whaling, Heiskell B.,

*Has the Importance of Federal Valuation of Railroads been Increased or Lessened by Federal Control of Operation?* (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1918).

Whitney, Nathaniel R.,

*The Overdraft Evil as Illustrated by Conditions in Iowa Banks* (American Economic Review, March, 1918).

#### SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

Sanitary Fairs in Iowa, by Earl S. Fullbrook, in the *Clinton Herald*, January 1, 3, 1918; and the *Montezuma Palladium*, January 1, 1918.

Thirty Years a Resident of Ames, by Mrs. M. Electa Gilbert, in the *Ames Tribune*, January 3, 1918.

Noble Work of Iowa Pioneer Missionaries, in the *Osceola Sentinel*, January 3, 1918.

From Blue to Khaki, in the *Osceola Sentinel*, January 3, 1918.

Ages of Soldiers in Civil War, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, January 3, 1918.

Sanitary Fairs of 1864, by George Gallarno, in the *Sioux City Journal*, January 5, 1918.

Iowa in the Mexican War, in the *Mason City Times*, January 6, 1918.

Iowa is Seventy-one Years Old, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, January 6, 1918.

Governor Boies Ninety Years Old, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, January 8, 1918.

Early Days on the Illinois Central, in the *Storm Lake Register*, January 10, 1918.

- An Indian War, in the *Carroll Herald*, January 10, 1918.
- The World War vs. the Civil War, in the *Nevada Representative*, January 11, 1918.
- Effigy Mounds in Iowa, in the *Boone News-Republican*, January 11, 1918.
- Blizzard in 1888, in the *Storm Lake Tribune*, January 11, 1918.
- Keokuk Women Were Prominent in Relief Work During Civil War, in the *Keokuk Gate-City*, January 11, 1918.
- Sanitary Fair at Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, January 13, 1918.
- Tributes to the late James A. Smith, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, January 14, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of James A. Smith, in the *Northwood Anchor*, January 16, 1918.
- Market Prices in 1897, in the *Royal Banner*, January 17, 1918.
- Reminiscences of Early Day Logging in Iowa, by Robert Quigley, in the *Decorah Republican*, January 17, 1918.
- Storm of January 12, 1888, in the *Eldora Herald*, January 17, 1918.
- The Frontier Sketches, running in the *Burlington Post*.
- Location of Boundary Line Between Scott and Clinton Counties, in the *Clinton Advertiser*, January 22, 1918.
- An Allamakee County Quilt of Civil War Times, in the *Waukon Republican*, January 23, 1918.
- Early Newspapers in Iowa, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, January 23, 1918.
- Life in Iowa in Early Days, by Mary E. King, in the *Sioux City Journal*, January 23, 1918.
- Old Fort Madison, by Jacob Van der Zee, in the *Clinton Herald*, January 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, February 1, 1918.
- Walnut Lumber Industry in Iowa, in the *Davenport Democrat*, January 27, 1918.
- Muscatine a Leader in Fairs During Civil War, in the *Muscatine News-Tribune*, January 28, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of John Tanken, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, January 29, 1918.
- Early Days in Osceola County, in the *Pocahontas Democrat*, January 31, 1918.

- Iowa's Civil War Loan a Failure, in the *Davenport Times*, February 1, 1918.
- Women in the Civil War, by Mrs. P. D. Swick, in the *Boone Independent*, February 1, 1918.
- Memories of the Storm of January 12, 1888, by W. W. Carlton, in the *Charles City Press*, February 2, 1918.
- Conditions in Iowa During Civil War, in the *Mt. Vernon Record*, February 6, 1918.
- Early History of Charles City, in the *Charles City Press*, February 8, 1918.
- William Battin, Last of the Early Judges, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, February 9, 1918.
- The Story of the Town of Humboldt, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger and Chronicle*, February 11, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Robert W. Shields of Washington, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, February 19, 1918.
- Prices Now and During the Civil War, in the *Davenport Times*, February 22, 1918.
- History of Washington Township, by Peter Mulvaney, in the *Eldon Forum*, February 21, 28, March 7, 1918.
- Iowa State University Born and Christened in War, in the *Iowa City Citizen*, February 25, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of F. W. Harwood, in the *West Union Gazette*, February 27, 1918.
- Comparison of Prices During Civil War and at Present, in the *Waterloo Times-Tribune*, February 27, 1918.
- Reminiscences of a Pioneer, by Mrs. L. G. Clute, in the *Manchester Press*, February 28, 1918.
- The State University of Iowa and the Civil War, in the *Clinton Herald*, February 28, March 1, 2, 4, 1918.
- Reminiscences of Spring Valley Creek, in the *Le Mars Sentinel*, March 1, 1918.
- Folder of Teachers' Institute in 1860, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, March 2, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Esther Ridley, First White Woman in Emmet County, in the *Estherville Democrat*, March 6, 1918.

- Sketch of the life of Newton Whitehead, in the *Lake City News*, March 7, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Captain V. P. Twombly, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, March 7, 1918.
- Early Days in Iowa, by J. R. Buttolph, in the *Boone Independent*, March 8, 1918.
- Historic Spots in Iowa, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, March 9, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Orvis H. Coon, in the *Des Moines Capital*, March 14, 1918.
- Early Settlement of Mahaska County, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, March 18, 1918.
- County Seat Contest in Mahaska County, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, March 20, 1918.
- How the County Seat of Cedar County Came to be Called Tipton, in the *Tipton Conservative*, March 20, 1918.
- A Marion County Pioneer's Tribute to Iowa, by W. H. H. Barker, in the *Knoxville Express*, March 20, 1918.
- Early Days in Iowa, in the *Pilot Mound Leader*, March 21, 1918.
- Early Days in Albia, by Henry Wallace, in the *Albia News*, March 21, 1918.
- The Black Hawk War, by Jacob Van der Zee, in the *Clinton Herald*, March 26, 27, 30, 1918.
- The Story of Antoine LeClaire, in the *Davenport Democrat*, March 28, 1918.

## HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

### PUBLICATIONS

The November number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* is devoted to *Ole Rynnings True Account of America*, edited with introduction and notes by Theodore C. Blegen.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for March opens with an article on *Topenbee and the Decline of the Pottawattomie Nation*, by Elmore Barce. There is also a continuation of J. Edward Murr's interesting study of *Lincoln in Indiana*.

*Bulletin No. 9* issued by the Michigan Historical Commission contains the prize essays written by pupils of Michigan in the local history contest for 1916-1917.

The Historical Society of New Mexico has published a pamphlet containing a *Historical Sketch of Governor William Carr Lane*, together with a diary of his journey from St. Louis to Santa Fé in the summer of 1852, with annotations by Ralph E. Twitchell.

*Some Anthropological Misconceptions*, by John R. Swanton; and *The American Zodiac*, by Stansbury Hagar, are among the articles in the October-December number of the *American Anthropologist*.

Number twenty-eight of the *Filson Club Publications* consists of a monograph on *The Kentucky River Navigation*, by Mary Verhoeff. Following an introductory chapter the subject is discussed under the headings of river commerce, the beginnings of river commerce, commerce in its relation to river improvements, and mountain traffic. The work is illustrated by numerous cuts which add much to the interest of the volume.

An appreciation of *Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate*, by Charles E. Rushmore, and a more extended biographical sketch by Josiah C.

Pumpelly, may be found in the January number of *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*.

Some *Notes on Zuni*, by Elsie Clews Parsons, are published in two parts in the July-September and October-December numbers of the *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*.

In the January number of *The Wisconsin Archeologist* there is an illustrated account of the *Indian Remains in Door County*, by J. P. Schumacher.

Numbers twenty-one and twenty-two of the *Bulletin of Information* published by the Arkansas History Commission are combined, and are devoted to an *Outline of Constitution Making in the United States* with bibliographical notes. There is also a list of references arranged alphabetically by authors.

Among the papers in volume eleven of the *Historical Records and Studies* published by the United States Catholic Historical Society are the following: *American Catholic History and Religion*, by Richard H. Tierney; *The Beginning of Notre Dame*, by Matthew J. Walsh; *Catholic Signers of the Constitution*, by John G. Coyle; and *The "Marcus Whitman Myth" and the Missionary History of Oregon*, by Louis A. Langie.

*The Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians* is the subject of an address by Edwin Robert Walker which is printed in the October number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*.

*Mrs. Sallie Ward Downs*, by Mrs. Ella Hutchison Ellwanger; an address by Rev. William Stanley delivered before a reunion of Confederate veterans in 1908; and *Annapolis*, by R. S. Cotterill and Eloise Somerlatt, are among the articles in the January number of *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*.

The October-December number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains the annual report of the society. In the January-March number may be found some *Selections from the William Greene Papers*, edited by L. B. Hamlin.

An article by T. C. Elliott on *The Log of H. M. S. "Chatham"* is the initial contribution in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for December. *The Pioneer Characters of Oregon Progress* is the title given to some selected writings of the late Harvey W. Scott, who for forty years was editor of the excellent newspaper known as the *Oregonian*, published at Portland, Oregon. Finally, there is an appendix to Fred W. Powell's study of *Hall Jackson Kelley — Prophet of Oregon*.

Some documents relative to *The Library Company of Baltimore* occupy the opening pages in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December. Some interesting advertisements of the year 1792 are printed under the heading of *Professional Publicity*. Other documentary material is to be found in the remaining pages.

*Constitutional Convention of 1868*, by Eugene Cypert; *Narrative of a Journey in the Prairie*, by Albert Pike; *The Constitutional Convention of 1874 — Reminiscences*, by J. W. House; *The Arkansas History Commission — A Review of its Work*, by Dallas T. Herndon; *John Pope — An Unfinished Sketch*, by U. M. Rose; *What was Hernando de Soto's Route Through Arkansas?*, by Ada Mixon; *Price's Campaign of 1861*, by N. B. Pearce; *Arkansas and the Jesuits in 1727 — A Translation*, by W. A. Falconer; and *Arkansas Mounds*, by Edward Palmer, are among the contributions in volume four of the *Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association*, edited by John Hugh Reynolds.

*The Egyptian Ushebtis Belonging to the New-York Historical Society* are described by Caroline L. Ransom in the January number of the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New-York Historical Society. There is also a biographical sketch of *Thomas J. Bryan — the First Art Collector and Connoisseur of New York City*, by John E. Stillwell.

H. A. Trexler contributes the first of a series of articles on *Missouri-Montana Highways* in the January number of *The Missouri Historical Review*. The Missouri River route is discussed in this paper. There is a continuation of *Gottfried Duden's "Report"*

*1824-1827*, translated by William G. Bek. There is another article by Floyd C. Shoemaker on *Missouri and the War*; while in the third article in his series on *Missourians Abroad* Ivan H. Epperson sketches the dramatic career of George Creel, who is at present Chairman of the National Committee on Public Information.

A new periodical, known as the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, was launched in January by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. Among the contributions is an article on *The Trial of Mamachtaga, a Delaware Indian, the First Person Convicted of Murder West of the Alleghany Mountains*, by Hugh H. Brackenridge. There is also a note concerning the records of the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair of 1864.

The opening contribution in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January is a study of *The Government of Austin's Colony, 1821-1831*, by Eugene C. Barker. *The Residencia in the Spanish Colonies* is the subject discussed by Charles H. Cunningham; and Florence E. Holladay writes on *The Powers of the Commander Trans-Mississippi Department, 1863-1865*. Eugene C. Barker is the editor of the *Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832*.

*Lafayette's Visit to New Orleans*, is the title of a short paper by Henry Renshaw which occupies first place in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for September, 1917. About seventy pages are devoted to *Notes bibliographiques et raisonnés sur les principaux Ouvrages Publiés sur la Floride et l'Ancienne Louisiane*, prepared by L. Boimare, with an introduction by Grace King. Of special interest is a lengthy paper on *General James Wilkinson*, by his great-grandson, James Wilkinson.

*Nevada—Historic and Prehistoric*, by Robert L. Fulton; *Nevada in History and Prophecy*, by George Wharton James; *Mementos of Nevada's Olden Days and the Work of the Nevada Historical Society*, by Jeanne Elizabeth Wier; *Mark Twain's Relation to Nevada and to the West*, by Jeanne Elizabeth Wier; *A Faithful Account of the Last Indian Uprising in Nevada*, by Fannie Mayer

Bangs; *Special Legislation in Nevada, as Illustrated by the Laws of 1913*, by Clara Q. Smith Beatty; and *Religious Development in Nevada*, by Alice Frances Trout, are among the contributions in the *Nevada Historical Society Papers, 1913-1916*.

Among the papers in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for the year 1915 are the following: *Economic Causes of International Rivalries and Wars in Ancient Greece*, by William S. Ferguson; *East German Colonization in the Middle Ages*, by James W. Thompson; *America and European Diplomacy to 1648*, by Frances G. Davenport; *The Social Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in South America*, by Bernard Moses; *Sea Power: The Decisive Factor in our Struggle for Independence*, by French E. Chadwick; *Some New Marshall Sources*, by Albert J. Beveridge; and two papers on *Nationalism*, by Edward Krehbiel and William T. Laprade.

*Carl Schurz in Michigan*, by Edward G. Holden; *Indian Legends of Northern Michigan*, by John C. Wright; *History of the Equal Suffrage Movement in Michigan*, by Karolena M. Fox; *Coming of the Italians to Detroit*, by John C. Vismara; *Father Marquette at Michilimackinac*, by Edwin O. Wood; *Congregationalism as a Factor in the Making of Michigan*, by John P. Sanderson; *Historical Sketch of the University of Detroit*, by William T. Doran; and *The Factional Character of Early Michigan Politics*, by Floyd B. Streeter, are articles in the January number of the *Michigan History Magazine*.

Volume eight of the *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, published at Helena by the Montana Historical and Miscellaneous Library, contains much valuable material relative to the history of that State and the surrounding region. Nearly half of the volume is taken up with portions of the *Bradley Manuscript* which contains short discussions of Indian affairs, the fur trade, and early settlements, the longest article being a description of the *Yellowstone Expedition of 1874*. Among the numerous other articles and papers which the volume contains are the following: *Holding up a Territorial Legislature*, by Martin Barrett; *Mon-*

*tana's Pioneer Courts*, by W. Y. Pemberton; *Pioneer Lumbering in Montana*, by A. M. Holter; *Captain Townsend's Battle on the Powder River*, by David B. Weaver; and *Montana's Early History*, by Mrs. W. J. Beal.

The opening contribution in *The American Historical Review* for January is the presidential address on *The Editorial Function in United States History* read by Worthington C. Ford before the American Historical Association at Philadelphia last December. *American Rule in Mexico* is the subject of an interesting paper by Justin H. Smith. *The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing Upon Military Secrecy During the Civil War*, by James G. Randall, is another article of special pertinence at the present time. Finally, *The End of the Alliance of the Emperors* is the subject discussed by Serge Goriainov. The documents in this number consist of some letters from Andrew J. Donelson, American Minister in Berlin, relative to the revolution of March, 1848.

An interesting article on *Alaska Whaling*, by Clarence L. Andrews, occupies the opening pages in *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for January. There is another installment of the journals describing *David Thompson's Journeys in the Spokane Country*, edited by T. C. Elliott. Victor J. Farrar presents his annual survey of the *Pioneer and Historical Societies of the State of Washington*. There is also a continuation of Edmond S. Meany's valuable study of the *Origin of Washington Geographic Names*. Among the documents there is a letter written by Governor Isaac I. Stevens in 1853, relative to government land surveys in Washington Territory.

In the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1916* there appear the following papers: *The First Two Counties of Illinois and their People*, by Fred J. Kerr; *The Development of the Veto Power of the Governor of Illinois*, by N. H. Debel; *The Indian History of Illinois*, by Ralph Linton; *Oddities in Early Illinois Laws*, by Joseph J. Thompson; *Early Presbyterianism in East Central Illinois*, by Ira W. Allen; *Sixty Years in Chicago*, by William J. Onahan; *Slavery or Involuntary Servitude*

*in Illinois Prior to and After its Admission as a State*, by O. W. Aldrich; and *The Fox River of Illinois*, by J. F. Steward.

Among the papers in *The History Teachers' Magazine* for January are the following: *America's Debt to England*, by Lucius B. Swift; *The War and the Teaching of History*, by Howard C. Hill; *The Power of Ideals in History*, by Daniel C. Knowlton; and *The United States and World Politics, 1793-1815*, by Theodore C. Smith. There is also a very useful *Topical Outline of the War*, prepared by Samuel B. Harding. In the February number among the contributions is a paper on *The Monroe Doctrine and the War*, by Carl Becker. The March number contains the following articles, among others: *The Bases of Permanent Peace*, by Carl C. Eckhardt; *The International Mind in the Teaching of History*, by Mary Sibley Evans; *Celebrating Memorial Day*, by Eugene Barker; and *The Interaction of European and American Politics, 1823-1861*, by Evarts B. Greene. In this number there is also *A Selected Critical Bibliography of Publications in English Relating to the World War*, by George M. Dutcher.

The latest volume of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, edited by Dunbar Rowland, is the first volume in a new series to be known as the *Centenary Series*. About two-thirds of the volume is occupied by a monograph by J. S. McNeily entitled *From Organization to Overthrow of Mississippi's Provisional Government, 1865-1868*. Another lengthy contribution is a history of *Walthall's Brigade*, by E. T. Sykes. Shorter articles are: *Mississippi Colonial Population and Land Grants*, by Mrs. Dunbar Rowland; *History of Company "C" Second Mississippi Regiment*, *Spanish-American War*, by James Malcolm Robertshaw; *Colonel George Strother Ganis and Other Pioneers in Mississippi Territory*, by George J. Leftwich; *James Lockhart Antry*, by James M. Greer; and *Some Main Traveled Roads, Including Cross-sections of Natchez Trace*, by George J. Leftwich.

*The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December opens with an address by Carl Russell Fish entitled *The Frontier a World Problem*. George Manierre presents some *Early Recollections of Lake*

*Geneva (Big Foot Lake), Wisconsin.* Ole Knudsen Nattestad's *Description of a Journey to North America*, originally published in 1839, is here reprinted, with a foreword by Rasmus B. Anderson. Among the answers to queries printed in this number are notes on Daniel Webster's Wisconsin investments, the discovery of Lake Superior, and the Indian tribes of Iowa. The March number contains the following articles: *A Wisconsin Woman's Picture of President Lincoln*, by Cordelia A. P. Harvey, who describes her interview with President Lincoln in the effort to secure northern hospitals for the wounded soldiers in the western armies; *The Dutch Settlements of Sheboygan County*, by Sipko F. Rederus; and Lucius G. Fisher's *Pioneer Recollections of Beloit and Southern Wisconsin*, edited by Milo M. Quaife.

*President Lincoln and the Illinois Radical Republicans* is the title of an article by Arthur C. Cole which opens the March number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Lawrence H. Gipson is the author of a paper on *The Collapse of the Confederacy*; Homer C. Hockett discusses *The Influence of the West on the Rise and Fall of Political Parties*; and Theodore C. Blegen describes *A Plan for the Union of British North America and the United States, 1866*. In a brief discussion of American historical periodicals Augustus H. Shearer makes the following statement: "To the west belongs the credit of the first state magazine of history, and to the newer west, too. This was the Iowa state historical society's *Annals*, which began in 1863." There is also a letter written by W. S. Gilman in 1837 describing the Alton riot.

*In Memoriam — Clarence S. Paine* is a brief tribute by John L. Webster which is appropriately given first place in volume eighteen of the *Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, edited by Albert Watkins. The volume contains the proceedings of the Society at its annual meetings from 1909 to 1916, inclusive. Besides biographical sketches of James B. Kitchen, Jefferson H. Broady, and Lorenzo Crounse, there are the following brief historical papers: *Acknowledging God in Constitutions*, by William Murphy; *Nebraska Reminiscences*, by William M. D. French; *The*

*Rural Carrier of 1849*, by John K. Sheen; and *Trailing Texas Long-horn Cattle Through Nebraska*, by James H. Cook. Three more extensive monographs occupy about one-third of the volume, namely: *Neapolis, Near-Capital*, by Albert Watkins; *Controversy in the Senate over the Admission of Nebraska*, by John Lee Webster; and *How Nebraska was Brought into the Union*, by Albert Watkins. In the last two articles there are numerous references to the attitude of James W. Grimes, Samuel J. Kirkwood, James Harlan, James F. Wilson, and other Iowa men in Congress.

#### ACTIVITIES

The Oregon Historical Society has recently moved into fireproof quarters in the new Auditorium of the City of Portland.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at St. Paul on May 9th to 11th. It is planned that the formal dedication of the new building of the Minnesota Historical Society will take place at the same time.

Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, who for over thirty-three years was treasurer of the American Historical Association, retired from that office at the annual meeting of the Association last December.

The State Historical Society of Missouri held its annual meeting at Columbia on January 8th. Especial interest was attached to this meeting because it was on January 8, 1818, that Missouri's first petition for statehood was presented in Congress.

Among the interesting documents in the possession of the Madrid Historical Society is an order dated at Iowaville, May 14, 1853, entitling one Seth Graham to two shares of stock in the Des Moines Steam Boat Company. The president of this company was A. E. D. Bousquet, and the secretary was George W. Hoover.

#### THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Dr. Ivan L. Pollock, formerly a member of the research staff of the Society and the author of several monographs published by the

Society, took up a position with the War Trade Board in Washington, D. C., early in February.

A volume on *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858*, written by Marcus L. Hansen, will be distributed to the members and official depositories of the Society in the near future.

Mr. Thomas Teakle, the author of a number of monographs which have been published by the Society, read a paper before the Abigail Adams Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Des Moines early in April. His subject was "The Romance of the History of Iowa".

Two pamphlets in the series entitled *Iowa and War* which were published in February and March, respectively, are: *The State University of Iowa and the Civil War*, by Mrs. Ellen M. Rich, reprinted from *The Iowa Historical Record* for January, 1899; and *The Black Hawk War*, by Jacob Van der Zee.

Mr. Cyril B. Upham, who has been a member of the research staff of the Society during the past two summers, left Iowa City early in April to enter upon a course of training in connection with the aviation service. Mr. Upham has recently completed the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the State University of Iowa.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. H. E. Bowman, Little Rock, Iowa; Mr. Wm. M. Deacon, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. S. R. Ingham, New York City; Mr. Carl E. Nord, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. Frank A. O'Connor, New Hampton, Iowa; Hon. T. J. Steele, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. J. R. Weber, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Harry T. Hedges, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. E. M. Warner, Muscatine, Iowa; Mr. C. F. Chambers, West Union, Iowa; and Dr. L. L. Myers, Iowa City, Iowa. Mr. Henry S. Nollen of Des Moines, Iowa, has been enrolled as a life member of the Society.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

A "pioneer park" of about twelve acres at Champoeg, Oregon, where the provisional government was established in 1843, has been purchased through private funds and donated to the State. A memorial building will also be erected on the site out of funds appropriated by the State legislature.

Franklin Paine Mall, head of the department of anatomy at Johns Hopkins University and one of the most eminent anatomists of the country, died late in November, 1917. Dr. Mall was born at Belle Plaine, Iowa, on September 28, 1862.

A newspaper item indicates that a seventh edition of Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp's *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre* will be published in the near future.

Bernard Murphy, who was editor of the *Vinton Eagle* for more than forty years, passed away on February 28, 1918. He was born in Massachusetts on September 24, 1847. From 1901 to 1906 he was State Printer of Iowa.

It is said that a farm bureau has been organized in each of the ninety-nine counties of Iowa, and that county agents have been employed in about two-thirds of the counties.

William Battin, who was one of the six county judges of Marshall County, died at his home in Marshalltown on February 8th. Mr. Battin was born in Ohio in 1832, came to Iowa in 1856, and in 1859 he was elected to the position of county judge which he held during a stormy period in the history of Marshall County.

The Hawk-Eye Natives, an association of pioneers, held its annual reunion at Burlington on February 22nd, with Mr. W. H. Grupe as the presiding officer.

Voltaire P. Twombly, who was Treasurer of State of Iowa from 1885 to 1891, died at his home in Des Moines on February 24, 1918. He was born near Farmington, Van Buren County, Iowa, on February 21, 1842. He served with bravery during the entire period of the Civil War, and is best known as the color-bearer of the Second Iowa Infantry. In that capacity he had the honor of carrying the first Union flag across the ramparts of Fort Donelson.

Following the precedent established last year "Foundation Day" was celebrated at the State University of Iowa on February 25th. The principal address was delivered by President Laenas G. Weld of Pullman Institute, Chicago. There were also brief addresses by President Walter A. Jessup, Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh, Captain Percy Bordwell, and Professor Arthur C. Trowbridge.

James A. Smith of Osage, who had a long record of service in the General Assembly of Iowa (two sessions in the House of Representatives and eight sessions in the Senate), died in Pasadena, California, early in January. Senator Smith was born in New York State on February 4, 1851, and came to Iowa at the age of eighteen. After being engaged in civil engineering for several years he went into the mercantile business, and later took up the lumber business in which he was very successful. During his legislative career he always gave his support to progressive measures. For several years he was a trustee of Grinnell College.

#### HENRY SABIN

The following data relative to the life and services of the late Henry Sabin was furnished by President Homer H. Seerley of the Iowa State Teachers' College:

Henry Sabin was born in Pomfret, Windham County, Connecticut, on October 23, 1829; and died at Chula Vista, California, on March 22, 1918. He was the son of Noah Sabin, a farmer, and Betsey Cleveland-Sabin. He prepared for college at Woodstock Academy, Connecticut, and at eighteen entered Amherst College, graduating in 1852. Soon afterward he took up teaching as a life work. He was in charge of the Union School at Naugatuck, Con-

necticut, for five years, and then became owner and principal of the Collegiate Institute at Matawan, New Jersey. In 1864 he became principal of the Eaton Grammar School in New Haven, Connecticut; and he came to Clinton, Iowa, as superintendent of city schools in 1870.

Mr. Sabin at once assumed leadership in the solving of problems of public school education in Iowa, being prominent on the platform and through his executive work rendering notable service in the common schools of the State. He was President of the Iowa State Teachers' Association in 1878, and gave an address on that occasion that was long the model of educational addresses from the standpoint of literary form and masterly eloquence. Among his addresses was one on "Education and the State" and another on "The Children of Crime", that were notable contributions to educational literature. From 1888 to 1892 and from 1894 to 1898 he was the highly esteemed Superintendent of Public Instruction for Iowa, during which eight years by addresses in Iowa and throughout the Nation he established a reputation that made Iowa notable in educational thought, practice, and development.

He was president of the department of superintendence of the National Education Association in 1895, and was an effective member of the National Council for many years. His most notable contribution to educational progress was his report as chairman of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools. This report is still the compendium on rural education problems and practice in the United States and thus far it has no successor or superior in its vision, scope, or conclusions. This report he edited and much of it he wrote from his own experience and judgment, giving to the State much distinction through his identification as a citizen and chief educational officer.

After retiring from the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, he organized and maintained a reliable teachers' exchange in partnership with his elder son; wrote books; delivered addresses; and carried on an extensive personal correspondence, writing nearly all of these professional letters of friendship and good-will in his own hand. His best known books are *The Making*

*of Iowa*, an historical treatise prepared in connection with his younger son; and *Talks to Young People*, consisting of advisory and affectionate addresses originally given to the high school boys and girls of Clinton, Iowa.

Mr. Sabin married Esther F. Hutchins in Naugatuck, Connecticut. Four children were born to them, of whom two are living: Elbridge H. Sabin, author, lawyer and ranchman; and Edwin L. Sabin, author — both residents of California. He was a devoted member of the Episcopal Church and was a man of sterling character and unchallenged faith in truth and righteousness. To have known him personally was a constant blessing and to be his friend and correspondent was a benediction of inspiration and confidence. His years were full of realizations and noble aims and his conceptions of life in his active years were always the highest and best.

## CONTRIBUTORS

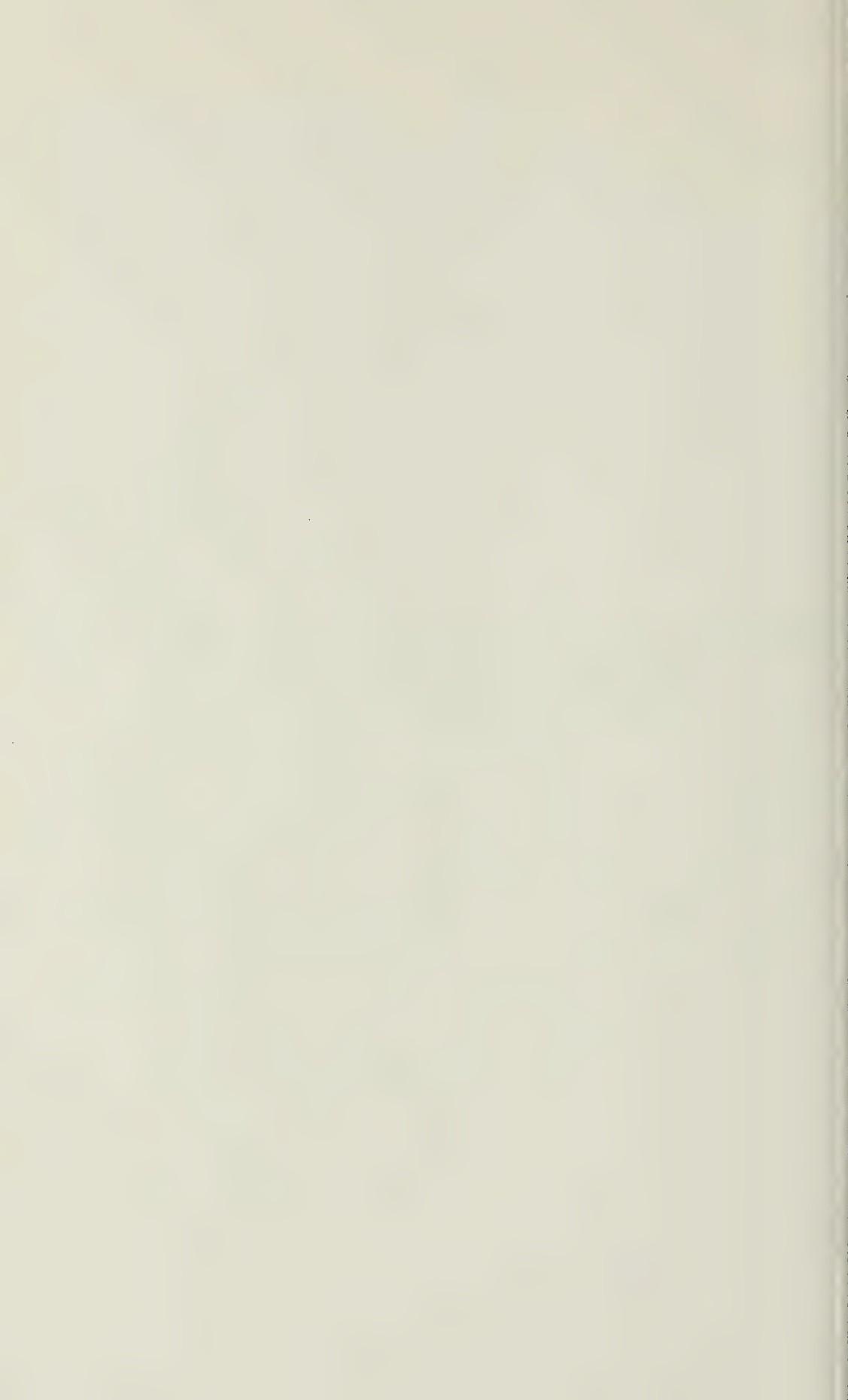
**EARL STANFIELD FULLBROOK**, Fellow in Sociology at the State University of Iowa. Born in South Dakota in 1892. Graduated from Morningside College in 1914. Engaged for two years in social work in Sioux City. Received the degree of Master of Arts at the State University of Iowa in February, 1918. Author of *Sanitary Fairs — a Method of Raising Funds for Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War.*

**JOSEPH W. RICH**, Member of the Board of Curators of The State Historical Society of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1908, p. 159.)



**THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS**  
**JULY NINETEEN HUNDRED EIGHTEEN**  
**VOLUME SIXTEEN NUMBER THREE**

VOL XVI—21



## FRONTIER DEFENSE IN IOWA 1850-1865

There are two distinct phases or periods in the history of frontier defense in Iowa. First there was the period ending about 1848 when military measures were taken largely for the purpose of protecting the Indians against the encroachments of white settlers on their lands, against exploitation by traders and whiskey-sellers, or against attacks by other hostile Indian tribes. With the exception of Fort Madison, all the early military posts in Iowa were established primarily for these reasons.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally they served to impress the Indians with the power of the United States government and to restrain them from molesting the settlers.

Eastern Iowa was settled very rapidly. Settlers came in such large numbers each year that even the Indians could see the folly of hostility when the odds were so overwhelmingly against them. Treaty followed treaty in rapid succession and within a few years the Sac and Fox Indians ceded all their claims to land in Iowa. Whatever may be said of the influences which led to the making of these treaties with the Sacs and Foxes, it is evident that the government endeavored to carry out its promises in good faith. Until the Indians were removed entirely from the State they remained in close proximity to the settlements, where they needed protection far more than did the settlers.

The defense of the frontier against the Sioux Indians

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the establishment and history of the early forts see Van der Zee's *Forts in the Iowa Country* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 163-204.

during the period from 1850 to about 1865, however, had an entirely different aspect. The Sioux were the most warlike of the tribes living in the region of the Iowa country. For years they had waged war against neighboring tribes; and they stubbornly opposed the advance of the white people. Into the country that had previously been their hunting-grounds the settlers came at first in small numbers, with inadequate protection. For many years along this frontier the Sioux were numerically equal or superior to the white settlers, and they had little cause to fear punishment for any depredations they might commit.

It must be admitted that as time went on the Sioux had ample provocation for resentment and hostility toward the whites. The story of official and private dealings with the Sioux Indians is one which no American can read with pride. But the fact remains, so far as Iowa is concerned, that in 1851 representatives of these Indians ceded a tract of land which included all the remaining territory to which they laid claim in this State. After that time they had no rights in Iowa, while the settlers had every reason to expect protection against annoyance or molestation by the red-skins. The Sioux, however, continued to visit their old haunts, and some of the more lawless bands committed depredations upon the settlers of varying degrees of seriousness. The problem of frontier defense in Iowa from 1850 to 1865, therefore, had to do with the protection of the lives and property of the white settlers, rather than with safeguarding the rights of the Indians.

#### SIOUX DEPREDATIONS BEFORE 1850

After 1846 adventuresome settlers began to push their way into north-central Iowa along the valleys of the Cedar, Iowa, and Des Moines rivers. Their coming was eyed with

displeasure by bands of Sioux warriors, who had roamed almost at will over that region even after their chiefs had signed treaties giving up all claim to it. Nor was there any effective agency near at hand to restrain them in their efforts to discourage these intruders from occupying their ancient hunting-grounds. Fort Des Moines, at the Raccoon Forks, was abandoned in 1846; and although there were State troops among the Winnebagoes at Fort Atkinson in northeastern Iowa until 1849, this garrison was apparently little feared by the Sioux.

In the summer of 1849 while James M. Marsh was engaged in surveying a correction line westward toward the Missouri River, he and his party were met near the site of the present city of Fort Dodge by "a band of eleven Sioux warriors completely armed." Although the Indians at first rushed upon the surveyors with every evidence of hostile intentions, they quickly changed their attitude, manifested friendship, and soon departed. Marsh continued with his surveying. Within a short time, however, the Indians again appeared. With warlike demonstrations they ordered Marsh to stop work, unharness his teams, and go into camp.

Marsh's party "consisted of seven men, unarmed: resistance was out of the question. After camping, he explained to the chief of the band the character of his survey; that it was by authority of the government, and that he was upon United States land; of all of which the chief seemed aware, for he expressed credence in all that was said and seemed perfectly friendly. The Indians stayed overnight in his tent, ate supper and breakfast with him, and received presents of provisions and clothing." The chief left the camp after breakfast; but no sooner had he gone than the other Indians became insolent and appropriated "to their

own use everything upon which they could lay their hands," including Marsh's tent, which they cut to pieces. "They then emptied his wagons, selected his best blankets and such other articles as they could pack, and left him. The ensuing night, however, they returned and openly stole all his horses, (nine in number,) and were sitting upon them near his camp the next morning." The loss occasioned by this unprovoked attack, which was immediately reported to Federal authorities, was estimated at not less than fifteen hundred dollars.<sup>2</sup>

Settlers in the Boone valley and at other points along the frontier were annoyed and robbed by small bands of Sioux Indians during this period.<sup>3</sup> In 1849 C. H. Booth, the Surveyor General of Iowa and Wisconsin, in his official report called attention to these depredations, and to the defenseless condition of this section of the frontier. "In view of these facts," he said, "I respectfully suggest the importance of occupying Fort Atkinson with a force of dragoons, to awe, and, if necessary, chastise these Indians".<sup>4</sup> About the same time the Indian Agent at St. Peters reported that the "injuries already committed on the whites . . . . call for some redress, and would fully justify the march of a sufficient dragoon force to the Iowa frontier to drive them [the Sioux] from that country".<sup>5</sup> In February, 1850, petitions from the people of Boone County, Iowa, were pre-

<sup>2</sup> *Senate Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Vol. II, pp. 235, 242, 243. Most writers have stated that the attack on Marsh was made in 1848, but the report of the Surveyor General describing the event proves conclusively that it occurred in 1849.

<sup>3</sup> William Williams's *History of Webster County, Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, p. 284.

<sup>4</sup> *Senate Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Vol. II, p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> *Senate Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Vol. II, p. 1051.

sented in Congress, asking for the establishment of a military post at the Lizard Forks of the Des Moines River.<sup>6</sup>

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT DODGE

The need of defensive measures against the aggressions of the Sioux Indians was thus forcibly brought to the attention of the War Department, and prompt action was taken. "For the protection of the frontier settlements of Iowa," reads an order which was issued from the Adjutant General's office on May 31, 1850, "a new post will be established under the direction of the Commander of the 6th Department, on the east bank of the Des Moines, opposite the mouth of Lizzard Fork; or preferably, if an equally eligible site can be found, at some point twenty-five or thirty miles higher up the Des Moines. The post will be established by a company of the 6th Infantry to be drawn from Fort Snelling, which will for the present constitute its garrison."<sup>7</sup>

Several weeks elapsed before this order reached Brevet Brigadier General Newman S. Clarke, Colonel of the Sixth Infantry and commander of the Sixth Military Department with headquarters at St. Louis. But on July 14th he in turn issued an order directing Brevet Major Samuel Woods to proceed to the Lizard Fork with Company E of the Sixth Infantry for the purpose of constructing and garrisoning the military post to be established at that point.<sup>8</sup> Major Woods was at that time in Iowa with two companies of in-

<sup>6</sup> *Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 164; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 510.

In January, 1849, the General Assembly of Iowa adopted a memorial to Congress asking that the need of defense on the western frontier of this State be taken into consideration in connection with the proposed line of military posts for the protection of the route to Oregon and California.—*Laws of Iowa, 1848-1849*, p. 203.

<sup>7</sup> *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 534.

<sup>8</sup> *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 534, 535.

fantry and one company of dragoons. Several hundred Sac and Fox, Pottawattamie, and other Indians had returned to Iowa in violation of their treaty obligations and were annoying the settlers along the Iowa River, especially in the vicinity of Marengo. The three companies under Major Woods were therefore detailed to remove these Indians to their reservations beyond the Missouri River.<sup>9</sup>

It was on the last day of July that Major Woods with Company E left "Camp Buckner" on the Iowa River for the new post, accompanied by William Williams, who had received the appointment as sutler for the garrison. The men had no very pleasant anticipations concerning their new duties, for such information as they had received led them to believe that the upper Des Moines valley was a region of lakes and swamps—much like Florida, where many of the men had served during the Indian wars. Marching was slow and tedious. There were unbridged streams to be crossed and sloughs to be avoided, while it was difficult to maintain a store of supplies when passing through country that was practically uninhabited. It was not until August 23rd that the command reached the spot where it was proposed to erect the new military post. In spite of their earlier misgivings the men found the location highly pleasing.<sup>10</sup>

#### ACTIVITIES OF THE TROOPS AT FORT DODGE

The troops were at once put to work cutting timber and preparing the necessary materials for buildings; and a steam sawmill was procured and put into operation. So well did the work progress that by the middle of November

<sup>9</sup> See Hansen's *Old Fort Snelling 1819-1858*, pp. 41-45.

<sup>10</sup> Williams's *History of Webster County, Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, p. 285; Carpenter's *Major William Williams* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 147, 148.

the barracks and other buildings were so nearly completed that the troops could fold up their tents and occupy their new quarters. No detailed description of this military post is available. But from a rough drawing made by William Williams it is evident that it consisted of rude barracks and officers' quarters arranged in a row, with stables and other buildings in the rear. Apparently it was not anticipated that the Indians would become so bold as to attack the post, for there was neither blockhouse nor stockade. The fort was first named Fort Clarke in honor of Colonel Newman S. Clarke of the Sixth Infantry.<sup>11</sup>

The new post soon became the subject of great interest on the part of the people of Dubuque. They fully appreciated the difficulty of transporting supplies for the fort the whole length of the Des Moines valley from Keokuk; and they were certain that a military road from Dubuque would be of great benefit to the garrison. Accordingly a petition containing about thirty-five signatures was sent to the members of the Iowa delegation in Congress, asking them to use their influence to secure the establishment of such a road. Several individuals also wrote to Senator George W. Jones, whose home was at Dubuque, in support of the proposition. They pointed out the fact that such a road would materially lessen the expense of supplying the fort; while it would be of much benefit to the people of northern Iowa. "The trade of the upper Des Moines", added one of these writers, "is of more importance to Dubuque than a score of railroads to Keokuk, in my opinion."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Williams's *History of Webster County, Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, pp. 285, 289. The drawing referred to is reproduced in Pratt's *History of Fort Dodge and Webster County, Iowa*, opposite p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> These letters and the petition from Dubuque are to be found in *Senate Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 31st Congress, Vol. III, No. 15.

Memorials, asking for the establishment of military roads to Fort Clarke from Dubuque and Muscatine were adopted by the General Assembly of Iowa on January 14 and February 4, 1851.—*Laws of Iowa*, 1850-1851, pp. 261, 265, 266.

Senator Jones introduced a resolution in the Senate, in accordance with which the Secretary of War directed that an investigation of the proposal be made by Colonel J. J. Abert of the Topographical Engineers. On January 7, 1851, Colonel Abert made a report pointing out the advantages of a road from Dubuque and recommending that an appropriation be made for building such a road.<sup>13</sup> No action was taken, however, and throughout its existence the fort was apparently supplied with provisions transported up the Des Moines valley.

On June 25th a general order was issued from army headquarters changing the name of the post to Fort Dodge, in honor of Henry Dodge and his son, Augustus C. Dodge, who were then United States Senators from Wisconsin and Iowa, respectively, and who had both been conspicuous for their service on the frontier. The principal reason for the change of name was the fact that another Fort Clarke had recently been established at a point farther west by troops belonging to the Sixth Infantry.<sup>14</sup>

There is nothing in the history of Fort Dodge that is unique or dramatic. The garrison, including the soldiers, civilian assistants, women, and children, numbered about one hundred and twenty persons. Their life was that of the typical frontier post. Expeditions were occasionally made into the surrounding country. The troops broke up ground and raised crops of grain and vegetables. Thirty mounted men were always kept in readiness to pursue hostile Indians or march to any point of threatened danger.

<sup>13</sup> *Journal of the Senate*, 2nd Session, 31st Congress, pp. 82, 91, 104; *Senate Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 31st Congress, Vol. III, No. 15.

Senator Jones again brought up this matter at the next session of Congress, but with like results.—*Journal of the Senate*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, pp. 87, 115, 318; *Senate Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, Vol. IV, No. 14.

<sup>14</sup> *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 536.

The Indians fled from the immediate vicinity of the fort upon the arrival of the troops, and several months elapsed before they ventured near. As time went on, however, they did not hesitate to trouble settlers and hunters, and the troops were often sent out to overawe the redskins. "In the spring of 1852," says one writer, "they robbed an old man by the name of Green and his party who had ventured some distance up the Coon River to hunt . . . . In October of [the] same year, 1852, they attacked four families who had settled on Boyer River, about sixty miles southwest of the fort, robbed them of all they had, and took with them as prisoners a young man and young woman. On that occasion we pursued them until we caught two of their principal leaders, *Ink-pa-do-tah* and *Umpa-sho-tah*, and held them accountable for the return of the persons and property. About ten days after[ward] they were brought in."<sup>15</sup>

Fort Dodge was never intended as a permanent post. It was established as a measure of frontier defense, with the expectation that it would soon be abandoned. By 1853 there seemed no further danger of Indian attack in the region adjoining the fort. Settlers, encouraged by the protection afforded by the fort, had come to the vicinity in numbers large enough to defend themselves against Indian depredations. Further to the north and northwest, however, the Indians still presented a formidable barrier to settlements; and a military post in that region was deemed more necessary and advantageous. Consequently, in March an order was issued for the abandonment of Fort Dodge and the establishment of a new post on the Minnesota River which soon came to be known as Fort Ridgely.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Williams's *History of Webster County, Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, pp. 290, 334, 335. See also *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 535, 536, for data compiled from materials in the archives at Washington.

<sup>16</sup> *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 536, 537.

Major Woods and the larger part of the garrison of Fort Dodge took up the line of march to the new post on April 18, 1853. A lieutenant and twenty men were left behind to dispose of the property of the fort. Most of the buildings were purchased at public sale by William Williams, who had been the sutler and postmaster at the fort. On June 2nd the flag was lowered from the staff, and the last troops departed. That day marked the end of Fort Dodge as a military post; and William Williams with only a few other people remained on the site. Settlers soon took the places of the soldiers, however, and there grew up a flourishing village retaining the name of the post.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE DEFENSELESS FRONTIER

The abandonment of Fort Dodge as a military post left the Iowa frontier without protection. The wandering bands of Sioux Indians were bold and venturesome. They were good horsemen, and apparently they gave but little thought to the troops stationed at the new post far to the northward on the Minnesota River. Scarcely had the soldiers left Fort Dodge when the Indians pitched their tepees in the vicinity of the deserted post.<sup>18</sup> From that time forward for nearly ten years they were periodically a menace to the settlers in northwestern Iowa.

Depredations became especially numerous during the summer of 1854. It must be admitted, however, that the redskins did not at this time equal in barbarity an outrage committed by a white settler in January of that year. Henry Lott, who has been described as "a rough, unscrupulous border character whose legitimate sphere was outside the pale of civilization", first came in contact with the

<sup>17</sup> *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 537, 538.

<sup>18</sup> Williams's *History of Webster County, Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, p. 335.

Sioux Indians in 1846, when he built a cabin and undertook to conduct illegal trading operations with them near the mouth of the Boone River in Webster County. The Indians under the leadership of Sidominadota ordered him to leave, and when he did not comply they robbed him, shot his horses and cattle, threatened his family, and drove him and his stepson from home.

During the succeeding years, although he moved from place to place, Lott seems not to have lost his desire for revenge upon the Indians. In the fall of 1853 he moved up into Humboldt County and built a cabin on a small tributary of the Des Moines River which later was called Lott's Creek. Not far away was the lodge wherein lived Sidominadota and his family. In January, 1854, Lott and his stepson treacherously assassinated Sidominadota, and on the same night they went to his lodge and murdered six members of his family. Lott and his stepson then burned their own cabin and fled from the State. When the tragedy was discovered the county authorities of Webster County conducted a more or less farcical investigation. Although there was no doubt as to the perpetrators of the massacre, they were too far away to be captured and the crime went unpunished.<sup>19</sup>

This event naturally aroused great indignation among the Indians; and the settlers were apprehensive lest they would seek reprisals. The few settlers daily expected an attack. "We had to be constantly on the lookout for them, and dare not venture out without being well armed", writes

<sup>19</sup> This account of the murder of Sidominadota is taken largely from Teakle's *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, Ch. IV.

Many writers take the view that Inkpaduta and Sidominadota were brothers; and that the Spirit Lake Massacre was in large part a result of Inkpaduta's desire to secure revenge for the murder of his brother. Other writers, including Mr. Teakle, do not accept this view.

Major Williams. The Indians became very sullen and hostile, and soon after Lott's massacre "they drove Wm. R. Miller and family to the fort for shelter." In March and April several new settlers came to the village, while "Robert Scott and John Scott, who had settled some distance below the fort, abandoned their claims and fled to the fort from fear of the Indians." By the latter part of April, it is said, Fort Dodge could muster a force of about fifteen well armed men, and the little settlement felt confident of its ability to withstand any probable Indian attack.<sup>20</sup>

The scattered settlers living to the northward, however, were not so fortunate. Perhaps the fears of the settlers were unduly aroused, for it is true that no very serious harm was done by the Indians. But there was good reason for uneasiness, especially about the middle of the summer, when a considerable number of Sioux came into north-central Iowa in the hope of securing the scalps of some Saes and Winnebagoes who, they believed, were in that region. Near Clear Lake, in the course of an altercation, a settler knocked an Indian down with a piece of a broken grindstone. By means of gifts the settler's wife succeeded in pacifying the Indians temporarily. When the news reached Clear Lake and Mason City a party of about twenty-five armed men set out with the intention of driving the Indians from the vicinity. Contrary to expectations they found the red men peaceably inclined: they returned the gifts which they had received from the settler's wife and soon left the neighborhood. Nevertheless, it is said that "terror seized the settlers and a general retreat occurred

<sup>20</sup> Williams's *History of Webster County, Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, pp. 291, 292, 335, 336.

to the Shell Rock River, near where Nora Springs is located, and a fortified camp was established.”<sup>21</sup>

The situation on the frontier was sufficiently alarming to convince Governor Hempstead that defensive measures were necessary. “In July last,” he said in his biennial message to the legislature on December 8, 1854, “I received information from the counties of Cerro Gordo, Floyd, Bremer, Chickasaw, Franklin and others, that a large body of Indians well armed and equipped, had made demonstrations of hostilities by fortifying themselves in various places, killing stock, and plundering houses, and that many of the inhabitants had entirely forsaken their homes and left a large portion of their property at the mercy of the enemy; praying that a military force might be sent to protect them and their settlements. Upon the reception of this information, an order was immediately issued to Gen. John G. Shields, directing him to call out the City Guards of Dubuque, and such other force as might be necessary, not exceeding two companies, to remove the Indians from the state. This order was promptly obeyed, and the company were ready for service, when information was received that the Indians had dispersed — that the citizens were returning to their homes, and quiet had been restored.”

<sup>21</sup> Harvey Ingham’s *Ink-pa-du-tah’s Revenge* in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. IV, pp. 271, 272. There are many versions and accounts of this episode which has been called the “Grindstone War”.

The following is a letter to Governor Hempstead, dated “Head Quarters Army of Relief, Masonic Grove, Cerro Gordo County”, July 6, 1854:

“The Citizens of Cerro Gordo, Floyd and adjoining Counties are Greatly alarmed by the appearance of a party of Sioux Indians, which have made their appearance at or near the Settlement at Clear Lake . . . . There is now Encamped at Masonic Grove about 100 men watching the movements of the Indians . . . . We have no means of ascertaining the precise number of Indians which have encamped there, but there have been seen 400 warriors which have fortified themselves about 12 miles from the camp of the whites.” — *Correspondence, Miscellaneous*, G II, 731, in the Public Archives, Des Moines.

Governor Hempstead also told the legislature that he had given Major William Williams of Fort Dodge authority to raise a volunteer company for frontier defense in case of need. Williams had made an investigation and in September reported that "he had not found it necessary to raise any military force, as there did not then exist any cause for alarm". The Governor, however, recommended that the General Assembly should make some provision to the end that a military force might be available on the frontier in case of emergency.<sup>22</sup>

Scarcely had these words been written when the apprehensions of the settlers were again raised by the visits of Indians, who gave evidence of their intention to spend the winter in the vicinity of the settlements — doubtless for the purpose of obtaining food. On January 3, 1855, Governor James W. Grimes wrote a long letter to the members of the Iowa delegation in Congress, asking their coöperation in securing protection for the frontier.

"There are at this time large bands of the Yankton and Sisseton Sioux in the neighborhood of Fort Dodge, in Webster county in this State", wrote the Governor. "I am reliably informed that there are not less than five hundred warriors of that tribe in that vicinity. They manifest no *real* hostile intention, but they are accused of stealing hogs, cattle, etc. Certain it is, they have occasioned a great deal of alarm among the settlers. The people have become impatient for their removal, and many of the most discreet men of that region of country are anticipating trouble."

Governor Grimes called attention to the fact that he had no adequate authority to adopt measures for the protection of the settlers. He could call out the militia of the State

<sup>22</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 456-458.

only in case of insurrection or hostile invasion, and thus far the Indians could not be said to have displayed hostile intentions. "I have taken the responsibility", said the Governor, "to appoint Major William Williams of Fort Dodge, a kind of executive agent to act for me in protecting both the settlers and the Indians, and particularly to preserve the peace." But there were no funds which could be used to defray any expenses which might be incurred in carrying out these objects. He therefore suggested that Major Williams should be appointed as a special Indian agent. "It is greatly feared", continued Grimes, "that when the proposed military expedition shall march towards the Plains to chastise the Sioux for their hostilities near Fort Laramie and along the emigrant route to Oregon and California, they will attempt to seek shelter within the limits of our State. In that event, the presence of such an agent will be highly serviceable, if not, indeed, absolutely necessary."

The settlers in Woodbury, Monona, and Harrison counties were also asking for protection against the Omaha and Oto Indians who were then east of the Missouri River. "The chief trouble apprehended by the Missouri river citizens, however," wrote Grimes, "is from a band of the Sioux in the vicinity of Sargent's Bluffs. These Indians pretend that they have never parted with their title to several of the north-western counties of our State and avow their intention to plant corn within the State in the coming spring."

In view of all these circumstances the Governor urged the Iowa Senators and Representatives to use all their influence to secure a remedy of the existing evils. "We have just cause for complaint", he said. "The government has undertaken to protect our frontiers from the Indians with the assurance that this stipulation would be fulfilled. That

frontier is filled with peaceful citizens. But the Indians are suffered to come among them — destroying their property and jeopardizing their lives.”<sup>23</sup>

About three weeks later Governor Grimes sent the following special message to the General Assembly:

I have received reliable information that large bands of the Sioux Indians are now within the limits of this State, and that an increase of their number is shortly expected. The frontier settlements are daily liable to molestation and apprehensions are felt in many quarters for the safety of our citizens.

It is known that the General Government is about to dispatch a body of troops to the Territories west of Iowa, for the purpose of chastising or intimidating this tribe of Indians, or some of their confederates, for depredations and hostilities committed in the neighborhood of Fort Laramie and along the emigrant route to California and Oregon. It is feared that when this expedition shall reach the Indian country, they will attempt to find shelter in the north west portion of the State and thus the whole confederated tribes of the Sioux be precipitated upon our frontier settlements.

There is no military organization in the State. The Executive of the State has no authority under the law, to use either persuasive or coercive measures, except in cases of insurrection or actual hostile invasion.

I submit to the General Assembly the facts as they have reached me, and shall be happy to concur in such measures for safety, as their judgment may dictate.<sup>24</sup>

Although this message received corroboration in petitions presented to the legislature,<sup>25</sup> it failed to bring forth any

<sup>23</sup> This letter is printed in full in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 627–630.

There is no available data to indicate what response the members of the Iowa delegation made to this urgent letter. At any rate they do not seem to have been able to impress anyone in Washington with the need for frontier defense in Iowa.

<sup>24</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 93, 94.

<sup>25</sup> *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1854–1855, p. 413.

action on the part of the General Assembly, in the direction of organizing the militia of the State for frontier defense.<sup>26</sup> On the day before Governor Grimes wrote his appeal, however, there was approved the following memorial to Congress:

Your memorialists, the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, respectfully represent that a garrison is much need[ed] at or near the mouth of the Big Sioux river, in Iowa.

Your memorialists further represent that the country round the mouth of said river has but recently been purchased from the Indians, and that since the purchase of the same, two hostile tribes, by a treaty among themselves, have partitioned out the country into separate hunting grounds for each tribe, in order to save their own hunting grounds; that the same is occupied every fall for hunting by bands of the different tribes, and that said tribes have since engaged in a war with each other, whereby said tract of country has become the theatre of several sanguinary and bloody battles, to the great discomfort and annoyance of the few settlers who have pioneered the way for settlement and civilization of that fertile and interesting part of our young and growing State, who are entitled to the protection of government.

Your memorialists further represent that the mouth of Big Sioux river is contiguous to a large scope of country owned and occupied by the Sioux, Omahas, Otoes, and other tribes of Indians, as Indian lands; that from said Indian country marauding bands of Indians will come into the settlements in Iowa to hunt, steal, and commit many other depredations which their lawless and unrestrained passions and habits may lead them to, which will keep the frontier settlements in constant alarm and dread, besides the great loss of property in these excursions, and the im[m]inent danger of human life arising from the intoxication, the malice, caprice or revenge of these unrestrained savages.

Your memorialists further represent that said garrison would be on the route to Fort Larimie and the garrison[s] established by

<sup>26</sup> Bills to provide a military staff for the Governor, and to organize the militia to repel invasions were introduced during this session, but they failed to pass.

the different trading posts on the Missouri and Yellow Stone rivers. That being situated on the Missouri river, it would be accessible by steamboats and would be a suitable and proper depot for supplies, ammunitions, &c., for the garrisons and forts on our western frontiers.

*Therefore Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their utmost exertions to secure the establishment of a garrison at or near the mouth of the Big Sioux river, in Iowa, at as early a day as practicable.<sup>27</sup>

Neither the Governor's letters nor this memorial of the General Assembly met with any response from Congress or from the War Department. Consequently, throughout the year 1855 the Indians continued to rob and annoy the settlers in northern Iowa with impunity. Fortunately that summer witnessed the beginning of the great tide of immigration into the upper Des Moines valley. Even Major Williams, who was not inclined to be unduly alarmed, expressed his opinion that had it not been for this augmentation of the strength of the white settlements in 1855 the Indians would have attacked Fort Dodge.<sup>28</sup>

At any rate as winter approached the situation again became so threatening that Governor Grimes made another attempt to secure action on the part of the Federal authorities. On December 3rd he wrote a long letter to President Pierce. "During the past two years", he said, "the northern and western counties of the State have been greatly disturbed by the intrusion of wandering bands of Winnebagoes, Sioux, Pottawattamies, Omahas and Sacs and Foxes. During the summer the greater part of these Indians leave the State, though a band of the Pottawattamies remained in Ringgold county until the latter part of last August,

<sup>27</sup> *Laws of Iowa, 1854-1855*, pp. 294, 295.

<sup>28</sup> Ingham's *Ink-pa-du-tah's Revenge* in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. IV, p. 272.

when, having stolen a large quantity of stock and provisions and murdered a white citizen, I directed them to be removed beyond the Missouri river by the sheriff of that county."

The Governor then called attention to the troubles during the previous year and to his ineffectual efforts to secure means of defense. "I am reliably informed", he continued, "that the same Indians, but in increased numbers, have again pitched their tents within the State and are making preparations to remain during the winter. The Secretary of this State, Gen. Geo. W. McCleary, writes me that he has information that a large band of Sioux Indians have destroyed the settlements in Buena Vista county and forced the inhabitants to abandon their homes. He also writes me that these Indians are manifestly making preparations for war, and have been and are now making great efforts to induce all of the Mississippi River Sioux to unite with them in hostilities upon the whites. I hear from various sources that several runners have been sent by the Sioux west of the Missouri river, to those in this State, and in Minnesota, with war belts, urging the latter to make common cause with them."

As a result there was great alarm along the frontier. Settlers were abandoning their homes and retiring to the more densely populated portions of the State. Petitions for assistance were being received by the Governor almost daily, indicating that there was general apprehension of a bloody Indian war. Governor Grimes did not believe that the Indians premeditated open hostilities during the winter, although he did not discount the danger of attack in the spring.

"But whether they *intend* hostilities or not," was the Governor's further comment, "difficulties and perhaps war will be likely to result from their intrusion upon the set-

tlers. The frontier men have no great love for Indians—they are suffering loss by their pilfering—they dare not leave their families alone, and, hence, many of them are compelled to remove their families to points in the State where they can be protected. There are bad men enough to sell the Indians whiskey, which converts them into devils and prepares them for any atrocity. They retard the settlement and improvement of that portion of the State. All these consequences of their presence excite the settlers' minds and render an attack *upon* the Indians but little less imminent than an attack *by* them, events in my view to be equally deplored. I beg leave to call your attention to the importance of having the Indians removed from this State at the earliest possible day. . . . The people of the State conceive that they have a right to ask it. They have bought their homes of the government with the understanding that they were to be protected in the possession."

"A year ago", said the Governor in conclusion, "the General Assembly of this State unanimously asked for the establishment of a military post on the Sioux river near the northwest corner of the State. I concur entirely in the propriety of that measure. I have no doubt that two companies of dragoons or cavalry stationed there, would effectually prevent the incursions of the Indians, and give quiet to the whole northwestern Iowa. Without such a Post they may be removed, but it does not occur to me how they may be permanently kept out."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> This letter is printed in full in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 135-137. The original is in the *Executive Journal, 1855-1858*, pp. 188-190, in the Public Archives, Des Moines.

"I have written as strong a letter to the President as I know how to write, in relation to the Indians", wrote Grimes to George W. McCleary on December 5, 1855. "It will probably be acknowledged by the Comr. of Indian Affairs and that will be the end of it."—*Executive Journal, 1855-1858*, p. 191.

The last sentence may explain why Governor Grimes did not make more use of the slender means at his disposal to remove the Indians from the State. He felt that the problem could only be solved by an adequate garrison in continuous occupation of some well-located post. Such sporadic measures as the State might be able to take would be only temporary in effect and they might arouse the Indians to greater hostility. As a matter of fact the Governor could hope for little assistance from the legislature in his desire to provide some effective military organization for the State. During this period the attitude of most of the members of the General Assembly towards military affairs seems to have been one of indifference, if not of contempt.<sup>30</sup> Consequently it is perhaps not a cause for wonder that the Federal authorities, far removed from the frontier, failed to respond to the Governor's appeals for protection.

During 1856 there was a continuation of the rush of immigration which began during the previous summer. While bands of Indians occasionally caused annoyance they were not so troublesome as during the preceding two years. The frontier settlements along the Des Moines River were strengthened by many newcomers, while on the Missouri slope settlers pushed further to the northward and up the valley of the Little Sioux River. Webster County, which reported a population of about nine hundred in 1854, had over three thousand in 1856. Kossuth County was not enumerated in the census of 1854, but in 1856 it had a population of nearly four hundred. The population of Woodbury County, during the same period, increased from one hundred and seventy to nine hundred and fifty. The people

<sup>30</sup> Not only did the General Assembly fail to pass any effective military legislation, but both during the special session of 1856 and during the regular session of 1856-1857 the committee on military affairs in the House of Representatives made exceedingly flippant reports.

of these counties were therefore reasonably secure from anything but a general Indian attack. But to the north and west there were scattered settlers who were badly in need of more protection than they could themselves provide — as events soon proved.

#### THE SPIRIT LAKE MASSACRE<sup>31</sup>

Among the most isolated of the settlers who took up claims in northwestern Iowa during the summer of 1856 were several families who built their cabins on the shores of Lake Okoboji and Spirit Lake. The nearest settlement was at Springfield (now Jackson), Minnesota, about eighteen miles to the northeast. To the southward there was no settlement nearer than Gillett's Grove in Clay County, fully forty miles away. The nearest point at which supplies could be purchased in any considerable quantities was at Fort Dodge, far away to the southeast.

In spite of their isolated situation these settlers apparently had little fear of the Indians, for aside from the rifles which were always a part of the pioneers' equipment they seem to have made no provision for defense in case of attack. The building of the cabins and the making of prairie hay occupied their time until late in the fall.

Then began the long and terrible winter of 1856–1857 and they were shut off almost completely from communication with the rest of the world. Snow-storms began early in November, 1856, and at frequent intervals during the ensuing four months the prairies were swept by fierce blizzards. All through the winter the snow lay fully three feet deep on the level ground, while the ravines and other low

<sup>31</sup> The data for the following brief account of the tragedy, which in reality occurred chiefly on the shores of Lake Okoboji, was taken from Teakle's *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, a volume of over three hundred pages published by The State Historical Society of Iowa.

places were filled to a depth of fifteen or twenty feet. Week by week the weather became colder and colder until it was almost suicidal to venture out upon the open prairie. Even as late as the first week of March, 1857, there were no definite signs of the coming of spring. Thus it was that the settlers at the lakes received no warning of the approach of a band of hostilely disposed Indians from the southwest.

Among the Sioux Indians there was a band of outlaws who were detested or feared even by their red brothers. At the head of this band was Inkpaduta or "Scarlet Point". He had killed his own father, and his many other evil deeds had gained for him the reputation among both red men and whites of being the most villainous and blood-thirsty Indian in the northwest. His followers were warriors of lesser fame, but of similar dispositions.

It was this band which suddenly made its appearance in February, 1857, at the small village of Smithland in southeastern Woodbury County. Here they stole corn and other provisions belonging to the settlers, but departed within a few days. Journeying slowly up the valley of the Little Sioux they became each day more insolent and vicious. Such property as suited their fancy was openly stolen from the settlers; horses, cattle, and hogs were wantonly killed; cabin doors were torn from their hinges; furniture was destroyed and bedding torn to shreds; and settlers were terrorized and tortured in a spirit of pure deviltry. When the Indians arrived at the lakes on the evening of Saturday, March 7th, they were in a fiendish state of mind, and they celebrated their arrival at the ancient Mecca of the Sioux by holding a war dance.

The story of the tragedy which followed has been so often told that it need not be repeated in this connection. In a word, the little settlement at the lakes was totally annihi-

lated. As the Indians journeyed on slowly to the north-westward they took with them four white women as captives, and left only the mutilated bodies of thirty-two men, women, and children on the snow and in the pillaged cabins to tell the tale of their atrocities.

#### EFFORTS TO PUNISH INKPADUTA AND RELIEVE THE SETTLERS

It should not be imagined that the settlers along the Little Sioux calmly permitted the Indians to continue their depredations without efforts to spread the alarm or to halt the redskins in their course. At Smithland the inhabitants put up a show of military force which may have hastened the Indians' departure from that settlement. Later, when Inkpaduta and his followers barely stopped short of massacre near the site of the present town of Peterson in south-western Clay County, a man by the name of Taylor made his escape and carried the news to Sac City. A company of men was quickly raised, and led by Captain Enoch Ross in pursuit of the Indians. But either because the redskins had too great a start, or because of a blizzard, or for some other reason the company finally turned back without accomplishing its purpose.<sup>32</sup> Indefinite news of Indian depredations also reached Fort Dodge, but the seriousness of the situation was not impressed on the people of that village until after it was too late for them to be of any real service. The severity of the weather and the great depth of the snow made the organization of an expedition in a sparsely settled country virtually impossible.

Inkpaduta and his followers therefore perpetrated the massacre at Lake Okoboji without fear of immediate pursuit or punishment. They had not left the scene of the

<sup>32</sup> Hart's *History of Sac County, Iowa*, p. 38; Gillespie and Steele's *History of Clay County, Iowa*, p. 57.

massacre, however, before their crime was discovered by a trapper by the name of Morris Markham. He at once set out for the home of George Granger, the nearest settler on the Des Moines River. At length after great suffering he reached his destination, half dead from hunger, exposure to the cold, and physical weariness. Resting only a short time, he and George Granger pushed on to Springfield.

The warning of danger thus given saved the Minnesota settlement from a fate similar to that of the settlers at the lakes to the southward. News of the massacre was dispatched immediately to Fort Ridgely, nearly seventy miles away, and the settlers prepared to defend themselves in case of attack. Although Inkpaduta's band later appeared at Springfield and killed several of the settlers, the remaining inhabitants put up such a stout resistance that the Indians were prevented from perpetrating a general massacre.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile the tragedy at the lakes was discovered by three other men who lost no time in carrying the news to Fort Dodge, where they arrived on March 21st. There was great excitement in the frontier town. Plans for an expedition to the lake region were at once put under way; and messengers were sent to Webster City and other towns to the eastward urging coöperation in the enterprise. The response was enthusiastic. Within a short time a battalion of three small companies — containing in all about ninety officers and enlisted men — was organized. Poorly equipped even for an expedition under far more favorable circumstances, realizing something of the perils and hardships they were facing, the men set out from Fort Dodge on March 24th for the purpose of burying the victims of the

<sup>33</sup> For an account of the attack on Springfield, Minnesota, see Teakle's *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, Chs. XVII-XIX.

massacre, rescuing the living if any were left, and visiting punishment, if possible, upon the perpetrators of the terrible deed.

The story of this expedition is one of great hardship endured with a heroism typical of the pioneers. Not only did the deep snow make traveling very difficult, but the intense cold entailed severe suffering upon the men. Occasionally, at some settlement, they received welcome food and rest; and from time to time new recruits were added to the battalion, until it contained one hundred and twenty-five men. On the last day of March they had the good fortune to rescue the terrified fugitives who were fleeing from Springfield, Minnesota, unaware of the fact that the Indians, discouraged by the resistance encountered, had abandoned the attack. At night on the following day the expedition reached Granger's Point, in the Des Moines valley east of the lakes.

Here it was learned that Inkpaduta and his band had long ago left the vicinity of the massacre, that they were now so far away that it would be impossible to overtake them, and that United States troops had been upon their trail. Pursuit of the Indians was therefore abandoned, but twenty-five members of the battalion were sent to the lakes to bury the victims of the massacre. On their return most of these men were caught in a terrific blizzard and two of them were frozen to death. The main command likewise passed through this two-day blizzard on the open prairie with no food nor fire. After intense suffering the men finally reached their homes, though it was a long while before some of them recovered from the ill effects of exposure.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> A full account of the Spirit Lake Relief Expedition is to be found in Teakle's *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, Chs. XXI-XXV.

While the Iowa pioneers were toiling through the drifts in the direction of the lake, a body of United States troops from Fort Ridgely was in pursuit of the Indians. Upon the arrival of the messengers from Springfield an order was issued on the morning of March 19th to Captain Barnard E. Bee to proceed to Spirit Lake with Company D of the Tenth Infantry. "At 12½ p. m. my company," reads Captain Bee's report, "numbering forty-eight, rank and file, was en route for its destination, taking, by advice of experienced guides, a long and circuitous route, down the valley of the Minnesota, as far as South Bend, for the purpose of following, as long as possible, a beaten path."

Even on the road over which there had been some travel progress was very slow; and beyond the end of the road was a waste of snow-drifts which made speed impossible. After about ten days the expedition reached a grove where it was evident the Indians had camped not long before. Following the trail, the troops were on March 29th within striking distance of Inkpaduta's band without being aware of that fact. The guides, either ignorantly or purposely, declared that the camping-places which were discovered were two days old, and so the chase was abandoned as hopeless. "I was in a country destitute of provisions; behind me, and separating me from the few supplies I had, was the Des Moines river, rising rapidly", wrote Captain Bee in justification of his failure to give further pursuit to the Indians. "These considerations, joined to the fact that my men were jaded and foot-sore from a march of one hundred and forty miles, the difficulties of which I have but feebly portrayed; that I had no saddles for my mules, and that only thirteen of them could be ridden, all these things induced me to return, mortified and disappointed, to my camp."

A detail was sent to Spirit Lake, where the body of one of the murdered settlers was found and buried; while the main command proceeded to Springfield. After a few days Captain Bee returned to Fort Ridgely leaving three officers and twenty men at Springfield. "While expressing my regret and disappointment that the object of my expedition was not attained, viz: the punishment of the Indians," said Captain Bee in concluding his report, "I would be doing injustice to the officers and men of my company were I not to bring to the notice of the commanding officer the cheerfulness and patience with which they encountered the fatigues of a no ordinary march; and perhaps I would be doing injustice to myself did I not assert that I used the best energies of my nature to carry out the instructions which I received."<sup>35</sup>

Several other efforts to chastise Inkpaduta and his followers were made during the summer of 1857, but without any result except for the killing of one, and possibly both, of the twin sons of Inkpaduta. Colonel E. B. Alexander, commanding at Fort Ridgely, was very earnest in his desire to punish the Indians, and had he remained at that post results might have been entirely different. But just as a formidable expedition was about to be sent into the Indian country to surround Inkpaduta and give him no chance for escape, Colonel Alexander was ordered to take a large part of the garrison and join the expedition to Utah. His successor gave little evidence of interest in the matter.<sup>36</sup>

Charles E. Flandrau, agent for the Sioux of the Mississippi, was also very energetic. He realized that the massacre was the work of a small band of Indian outlaws, and

<sup>35</sup> Captain Bee's report in *House Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 350-355.

<sup>36</sup> A detailed account of the efforts to punish Inkpaduta may be found in Teakle's *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, Ch. XXIX.

should not be charged to the whole Sioux nation. He initiated plans for the ransom of the captives, and coöperated with Colonel Alexander in measures for the punishment of Inkpaduta. But after the latter's removal from Fort Ridgely he was virtually powerless to accomplish anything. An order from Washington "to investigate and report the facts in the case, and the measures which in my judgment were best calculated to redress the grievances and prevent their recurrence in the future", gave him an opportunity to express his views.

"I had become so thoroughly convinced", said Agent Flandrau later in commenting on the situation, "of the imbecility of a military administration, which clothed and equipped its troops exactly in the same manner for duty in the tropical climate of Florida, and the frigid region of Minnesota, that I took advantage of the invitation, to lay before the authorities some of my notions as to what was the proper thing to do". He insisted that a force of not less than four hundred mounted men should be kept in the field during the summer and stationed at well selected points on the frontier during the winter. "All troops in this country should be drilled to travel on snowshoes, because during the entire winter, it is next to impossible to travel without them, where there are no roads, which will generally be the case where Indians will lead soldiers in a chase. The Indians all have snow-shoes and know how to use them, and will make twenty miles, where a man with shoes or boots on, will become exhausted and fail in five."

He pointed out the difficulty of transporting army supplies in the winter time by means of mule teams and heavy sleds; and suggested the superiority of dog trains. "A party with an outfit of this kind," he said, "with provision to correspond, would be efficient in the winter, where the

present United States soldier of any arm, with the usual outfit and transportation, would accomplish nothing. Let men be placed here, then, who will at all times and under all circumstances, be *superior* to the enemy they have to contend with, and I would have no fear of a recurrence of the difficulties of last spring.”<sup>37</sup>

#### EFFECTS OF THE SPIRIT LAKE MASSACRE

Captain Bee in his report declared that “a great check has been given to settlement and civilization by this massacre. Settlers and pioneers would be most unwise to risk their lives and those of their families in a region which, from its facilities for hunting and fishing, and (should the settlement extend) for plunder and violence, may be termed the Indian paradise.”<sup>38</sup> Naturally there was great excitement and consternation in northwestern Iowa. A writer who was well acquainted with the situation states that “frontier settlements were abandoned and in some instances the excitement and alarm extended far into the interior. Indeed, in many cases where there was no possibility of danger the alarm was wildest. Military companies were formed, home guards were organized and other measures taken for defense hundreds of miles from where any Indians had been seen for years . . . . The wildest accounts of the number and force of the savages was given currency and credence. Had all of the Indians of the Northwest been united in one band they would not have formed a force so formidable as was supposed to exist at that time along the western border of Iowa and Minnesota.”<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Flandrau's *The Ink-pa-du-ta Massacre of 1857* in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. III, pp. 401, 402.

<sup>38</sup> *House Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 354.

<sup>39</sup> Smith's *A History of Dickinson County, Iowa*, p. 147.

An illustration of the manner in which the alarm spread to points far distant from the scene of disturbance is to be found in the following account:

“Last Sabbath our good citizens were seriously startled by the announce-

On the other hand, it does not appear that the massacre greatly delayed the settlement of that portion of the State. If the first settlers in that region left their homes they soon returned or their places were taken by others, even during the spring and summer of 1857. In fact, just as the Black Hawk War drew attention to Wisconsin and eastern Iowa and really attracted settlers, so the Spirit Lake Massacre brought the lake region into more general notice as a desirable locality for claim-seekers.<sup>40</sup>

The massacre seems to have made very little impression on the Federal military authorities. Captain Bee recommended the establishment of a post on the Des Moines River. "A sure retreat is offered to any band of savages which may be tempted to become hostile", he said. "The Missouri offers a refuge; the vast country lying between the Minnesota and Missouri, with its numerous lakes and groves, affords countless places of concealment; and, although Fort Ridgely lies within a few days' march, yet, as is shown by my expedition, an outrage may occur at a season of the year which would render it impossible for troops to reach the scene of distress under several days."<sup>41</sup> But

ment, that the Indians were collecting in the vicinity of Fort Dodge, and were engaged in scenes of hostility. Several teams found their way to Des Moines in precipitate haste; and upon inquiry we ascertained that a general apprehension North of us, exists with reference to the Indian invasion. Whole families are hurrying away from their homes, and a general feeling of consternation seems to pervade the communities North of Des Moines." The assertion was also made that two military companies would be raised in Des Moines.—*The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), April 29, 1857.

Another example of a military company raised during the Indian scare following the Spirit Lake Massacre is one which had a short existence at Lamotte in the northern part of Jackson County.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. VI, pp. 941, 942.

<sup>40</sup> See Smith's *A History of Dickinson County, Iowa*, Ch. XII.

<sup>41</sup> *House Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 354.

Governor Grimes wrote an urgent letter to President Buchanan on April 8, 1857, asking that measures be taken to protect the frontier.—*Executive Journal, 1855-1858*, in the Public Archives, Des Moines, p. 245.

this recommendation was not adopted, and aside from the fact that troops remained at Springfield all summer, the lesson of the massacre failed to bring any more adequate protection of the Iowa frontier by United States troops.

A Democratic editor in northern Iowa denounced the administration for its "imbecility and criminal indifference" in not punishing Inkpaduta and his band. The bitter comment of a Republican editor was to the effect that if a runaway slave was wanted the government could act quickly enough.<sup>42</sup>

The effect of the tragedy upon the attitude of the General Assembly of Iowa was different. In his biennial message of January 12, 1858, Governor Grimes recounted the facts concerning the massacre and the relief expedition, and suggested that Congress be memorialized to compensate the members of the expedition for their services. "I do not anticipate any further trouble from the Indians", he said in closing. "The rumors put afloat in regard to future difficulty can generally be traced to interested persons who seek by their circulation to accomplish some ulterior purpose. To be prepared for any such emergency, however, I have established a depot for arms and ammunition at Fort Dodge, and have procured a cannon, muskets and ammunition for another depot in Dickinson county."<sup>43</sup>

Even the Governor's optimistic view of the situation failed to allay the apprehensions of the General Assembly, at last fully aroused as to the need of defensive measures. On February 9, 1858, there was approved a somewhat lengthy statute "authorizing the Governor to raise, arm and equip, a Company of mounted men for the defence and

<sup>42</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), July 13, 1857. The complaint of the Democratic editor is here quoted from the *Fort Dodge Sentinel*.

<sup>43</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 57-59.

protection of our frontier." The company was to consist of not less than thirty nor more than one hundred men. The officers were to be a captain, first and second lieutenants, a surgeon, four sergeants, and four corporals. All these officers except the surgeon were to be elected by the company, and the captain and lieutenants were to be commissioned by the Governor.

"The Governor", it was declared, "shall in no case call out said company of volunteers, unless in his judgment, founded upon reliable information, it is absolutely necessary to protect the lives or property of the citizens of the State, and such force shall always be subject to the order of the Governor, and in no case shall the Governor keep such body of men in service after the General Government shall have taken measures effectually to protect the said frontier, and said company shall be discharged and disbanded at any time, by an order from the Governor."

The law specified that the company should be "raised and recruited as near the theatre of operations as practicable", and J. Palmer of Spirit Lake was designated as "Agent" to raise the company and preside over the election of officers. The men enlisting in the company were required to furnish their own horses, and "all of their own clothing and rations of subsistence for both horse and man for such time as they may be in the service of the State of Iowa." Arms, ammunition, and equipment were to be furnished by the State. The compensation, to be paid out of the State treasury, was to vary from forty-five dollars a month for a private when on actual duty to seventy dollars a month for the captain. There were other details concerning the organization and discipline of the company.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, pp. 10-14. "Standing Army" was the high-sounding heading given to this law.

In response to a request, Governor Lowe reported on February 27th that he

## FRONTIER DEFENSE 1857-1861

During the summer of 1857 there were occasional rumors of Indian invasion, but they seem to have had little or no foundation. Late in July a settler from Spirit Lake wrote that "there are various rumors afloat in regard to contemplated hostilities, but nothing of a positive nature is yet known. A few faint hearts have left, but there is a bold set of fellows here now, who would not leave if they knew that 500 of the murderous dogs were about to descend upon them. They are building a fort which will be completed very soon, and then they can bid defiance to almost any number of these red devils. But I do not anticipate any trouble."<sup>45</sup>

was unable to make a definite statement concerning the location of the arms received by the State from the general government. He was informed, however, that there was a considerable quantity of military stores at Fort Dodge. "I have no information as to the precise character of these stores," he said, "but have been assured that they have been kept in good condition since their deposit at that point."—Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 201, 202.

<sup>45</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), August 6, 1857.

The following is a description of the "fort" built at Spirit Lake during the summer of 1857 and of other defensive measures taken by the settlers:

"It was a log building about 24x30 feet with a shake roof and puncheon floor and doors. Not a foot of lumber was used in its construction. Around the outside of the building, at a distance of from six to ten feet, a stockade was erected, which was formed of logs cut ten feet long and about eight inches in thickness. These were set on end in a trench from two and a half to three feet deep. A well was dug inside of the stockade. This building was erected in June and July, 1857, and stood there about two years. . . .

"As would be natural under the circumstances, the settlers scattered around the lakes in different localities and had two or three places as their general rendezvous, or headquarters. The largest number gathered at Spirit Lake, and several small cabins were built in the immediate vicinity of the old fort. It was the intention, in case of an outbreak or attack by the Indians, for all parties to gather at the fort and make such defense as they were able. A second party, including W. B. Brown, C. F. Hill, William Lamont and one or two others, had their headquarters in Center Grove. A third, consisting of Prescott and his hired men, was at Okoboji, at the old 'Gardner Place.'"—Smith's *A History of Dickinson County, Iowa*, pp. 160, 161.

At about the same time Editor Charles Aldrich of Webster City wrote of rumors "to the effect that 'the bloody In-ji-ins' were contemplating a descent upon the settlements in this vicinity. No very sensible alarm has risen to the surface; and yet many a trembling wight has worn his scalp to bed with excruciating fears lest the morning might find it drying on a hoop, or dangling from the saddle-bow of some remorseless Sioux. But these fears are all groundless."<sup>46</sup>

As winter approached, however, it is apparent that there was again real cause for fear in the region which had been so terribly visited in March. Letters from the frontier told of Indian depredations in Clay County. A cabin was burned, property was stolen, and settlers were annoyed in other ways. A small party of settlers pursued the Indians, but being poorly armed and greatly outnumbered they were forced to retire without giving the Indians the punishment they deserved. "The difficulties that have transpired in Clay, Dickinson and other counties in the North," wrote Editor John Teesdale, "indicate a purpose upon the part of the Indians to give the infant settlements on the frontier still farther trouble . . . . A letter, dated January 11th, at Spirit Lake, and written by Orlando C. Howe to Hon. C. C. Carpenter, informs us that the indications of a general invasion from the savages, are numerous. The settlers for forty miles around are anxiously marking the course pursued by the residents at Spirit Lake; and in the

<sup>46</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), August 6, 1857.

A little later Samuel R. Curtis wrote to the editor of a Des Moines paper that he had heard that Fort Kearney on the Platte River was to be abandoned. He considered it very "unfortunate that the posts nearest the Sioux should be thus reduced in number and force." It appears, however, that if the troops were removed from Fort Kearney it was only for a short time, for there was a garrison at that post in 1859. Fort Randall on the Missouri River also had a garrison throughout this period.

event that the settlers near the lake move away to the more secure neighborhoods South of them, a general *stampede* will take place in the northwestern counties. Homes will be deserted, and a vast amount of valuable property will be left to the tender mercy of Indian pillage and hostility."

"It is a matter of justice to state," continued the editor, "that the late Governor of Iowa, within the past two years, has repeatedly reminded the Administration of its duty to prevent, by decisive steps, the encroachments of the savages.—But it seems that the President has preferred to garrison forts that are not needed, and quarter an army upon Kansas to subserve his pro-slavery purposes, rather than to protect the citizens of Iowa from the murderous onslaughts of Indians."<sup>47</sup>

This situation no doubt freshened the memory of the Spirit Lake Massacre in the minds of the legislators, and was an influence in securing the enactment of the law providing for a frontier company which has already been mentioned. Petitions for protection were presented; and in addition to the law which was passed there were several

<sup>47</sup> *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), January 20, 1858. The editor received much of his information from Jareb Palmer who had just arrived in Des Moines from northwestern Iowa.

Jareb Palmer also wrote a letter to Charles Aldrich which was published in the *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), January 14, 1858.

On January 2, 1857, George Coonley, captain of the "Little Sioux Guards", wrote as follows to Governor Grimes:

"The continued depredations of the Indians upon the inhabitants of Little Sioux Valley have made it necessary to arm in self defense. We have organized an independent military Company comprising the inhabitants of Cherokee, Buenna Vista & Clay Counties. We have the men but lack the guns. Last Winter the Indians passing through found the settlers unprepared & took nearly every gun in the above mentioned Counties. They are upon us again this winter burning Houses, carrying off & destroying property. With 11 men we attacked 18 indians but several of our guns being useless were compelled to retreat . . . During the month of December they have burned several houses & destroyed a large amount of the property of settlers."—*Correspondence, Militia, 1859-1873*, G II, 640, in Public Archives, Des Moines.

unsuccessful bills dealing with the subject, including proposed memorials to Congress asking for the establishment of military posts at Fort Dodge, Sioux City, Council Bluffs, and other points in the northwest.<sup>48</sup>

Even before the Governor's signature had been attached to the law he apparently authorized the raising of the company which soon came to be known as the "Frontier Guards". A Webster City paper dated February 11, 1858, reported that Jareb Palmer was busy recruiting men for the company in Hamilton and Webster counties.<sup>49</sup> A week later it was announced that a company had been organized and that the following officers had been elected: captain, Henry B. Martin of Webster City; first lieutenant, William Church of Homer; and second lieutenant, D. S. Jewett of Boonsboro; while among the sergeants and corporals were several men who had been members of the Spirit Lake Relief Expedition.<sup>50</sup>

The company started from Webster City on Monday,

<sup>48</sup> For instance see *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1858, pp. 72, 73, 76, 88, 98, 99. The bill providing for the military company was adopted unanimously in the House.— p. 129.

<sup>49</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), February 11, 1858. The law was not approved until February 9th.

Some time during this winter there had been organized at Boonsboro a company knowns as the "Boonsboro Frontier Guards", with Samuel B. McCall as captain. Many of the members of this company doubtless enlisted later in the company recruited by Jareb Palmer.

On January 30, 1858, Grenville M. Dodge wrote to Governor Lowe, tendering the services of the "Council Bluffs Guards" for frontier service. He described this organization as an "organized and uniformed volunteer Company which has been under drill some two years — composed mostly of *Frontier men* who have been in service in an Indian country nearly all their lives, and are acquainted with our whole frontier line."— *Correspondence, Miscellaneous*, G II, 731, in the Public Archives, Des Moines.

Governor Lowe was forced to decline this offer, however, because of the terms of the law providing for the organization of the frontier company.— *Executive Journal, 1858-1862*, p. 22.

<sup>50</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), February 18, 1858.

March 1st. Shortly before that date a ball was given at the Willson House in honor of the men, and they were presented with a flag made by the ladies of the town. "The Company, numbering 31 men, left Fort Dodge about noon, on Tuesday," wrote Charles Aldrich, "as fully equipped and as comfortably provided for as the circumstances would permit. They go out well armed and well provisioned. The Company will be divided into three detachments, one of which will be stationed at Spirit Lake (headquarters) under Capt. Martin, one at Gillett's Grove, on the Little Sioux, under Lieut. Church, and the other, at Granjer's Point, on the Des Moines, under Lieut. Jewett."<sup>51</sup>

No detailed account of the march of the Frontier Guards to the lake region or of their activities during the next few months is available. Late in March two "soldiers in the 'Army of Occupation,' at Spirit Lake" returned to Webster City for provisions. "They report the 'boys' all in good health and fine spirits", wrote Editor Aldrich. "They have scouted over the whole country and have discovered indications and evidence which prove conclusively that

<sup>51</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), March 4, 1858.

It appears that ten additional men were enrolled after the company reached the lakes.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. VI, p. 938. The roster of the company as here given indicates that the men were mustered into service in November and December, 1858. Doubtless this refers to the beginning of the company's second period of service—that is, during the winter of 1858-1859, as discussed below. The men were doubtless first mustered into service in February or March, 1857.

A letter from Spirit Lake, dated February 25th, urged that the Frontier Guards proceed at once to the lakes, for the reason that Inkpaduta and his band were prowling about the settlements.—*Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), March 4, 1858. See also *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), March 10, 1858.

One writer says that Lieutenant Church and his squad were located at Peterson, and Lieutenant Jewett and his squad at "Emmett".—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. VI, p. 939.

There is much correspondence relative to the Frontier Guards in the Public Archives, Des Moines.

Inkpaduta's band has been prowling about the neighborhood during the winter. As soon as the grass starts, they will make an effort to hunt out and punish the savage old ruffian."<sup>52</sup>

If this effort was made it was not successful. The Frontier Guards remained on duty for four months, and then on July 1st they were disbanded by order of the Governor. The organization was not dissolved, however, and hence the men were subject to call at any time when conditions again demanded their presence on the frontier. "They saw no hostile Indians, but they performed a very important work in restoring the confidence of the settlers, and thereby increasing emigration: and it is more than probable that the Indians left that section of the State in consequence of the preparation for their reception."<sup>53</sup> At the Fourth of July celebration at Webster City the following toast was proposed: "The Frontier Guard — the Ladies of Webster City would tender them their thanks for their gallantry in leaving their homes to defend ours, and for returning with a name and fame untarnished."<sup>54</sup>

The Indians gave no trouble during the summer and early fall of 1858. But in November there again came rumors of threatened hostilities. It was stated on good authority that a large number of Indians were encamped near Spirit Lake and had subjected the settlers to petty annoyances. Messengers had been dispatched to Des Moines with petitions asking Governor Lowe to call out the Frontier Guards. Provisions were very scarce that winter, and it was predicted that on this account the Indians would be especially inclined to plunder. "Prompt action now", it was de-

<sup>52</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), March 25, 1858.

<sup>53</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), July 8, 1858.

<sup>54</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), July 8, 1858.

clared, "will keep our frontiersmen quiet and secure, and doubtless preserve many valuable lives."<sup>55</sup>

Apparently Governor Lowe lost no time in calling out the Frontier Guards. On November 22nd Captain Martin and his company left Webster City for the lake region. He was under instructions to refrain from any offensive action against the Sioux in general. But he was to order the Indians to leave the State and drive them out if necessary; and especially was he to make every effort to capture Inkpaduta. It was said that members of Inkpaduta's band were prowling about Spirit Lake and had been recognized by Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp. Fearing an attack, the settlers were standing on guard day and night until the arrival of the Frontier Guards.<sup>56</sup>

A decided difference of opinion now arose as to the necessity of maintaining a military company in northwestern Iowa. "Dr. E. S. Prescott, who has resided at Spirit Lake since April, 1857, and whose wife and children are there," said a Des Moines editor early in December, "informs the Jasper Free Press, that there is no authority for the rumors of an Indian invasion at Spirit Lake; that the Indians who perpetrated the outrages a year since, are 800 miles off; and that the few Indians who have been seen at Spirit Lake, are a few who had an agent's pass for passing between Fort Ridgely and Cotton River. Dr. P. strongly insinuates that sinister motives prompted the message sent to Gov. Lowe". On the other hand, Orlando C. Howe, who had recently been in Des Moines, declared that military protection was urgently needed, and his statement was amply

<sup>55</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), November 12, 1858.

<sup>56</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), November 26, 1858.

An account of the march of the Frontier Guards to Spirit Lake, written by D. S. Jewett, may be found in the *Boone County News* (Boonsboro), December 17, 1858.

corroborated by numerous petitions and official requests from Clay and Dickinson counties. "It is impossible to reconcile the statements of Dr. Prescott, with those made to the Governor", said the editor. "There is falsehood somewhere".<sup>57</sup>

Politics soon entered into the discussion and helped to prolong the controversy which continued throughout the winter. Democratic editors seemed only too glad to seize upon any pretext to accuse Governor Lowe and the Republican party with waste and extravagance in the expenditure of State funds. "At the time the 'Frontier Guards,' early last winter, were called into the field by the Governor, we asked a few questions relative to the necessity existing for such a call", declared a Democratic editor at Des Moines late in March, 1859. "A thorough investigation convinced us that the Governor had been deceived, and we wrote it. . . . The Governor knows it — his Deputies know it — the citizens of Spirit Lake — in fact all know that *this Spirit Lake affair* is one of the most brazen humbugs ever perpetrated in the State of Iowa. All the abuse, the apologies, and the lying statements of bitter partizans and interested parties, will not cover up this fraud and blunder."<sup>58</sup>

In the same paper there was published a letter from G. H. Bush of Spirit Lake telling in a rather sarcastic manner of how two Indians, with their women and children, were captured after they had openly come into town. "The soldiers under Capt. Martin have proved their generosity on two or three occasions as they would their bravery, doubtless, should opportunity offer," said the writer, "but the fact is we do not need them. There is no danger of Indian deprivations being committed here, and a great many of the set-

<sup>57</sup> *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), December 8, 1858.

<sup>58</sup> *Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), March 26, 1859.

tlers feel that the State is uselessly burdened by the stationing of troops at this point.”<sup>59</sup>

Editor John F. Duncombe of Fort Dodge did not doubt that the Governor was actuated by good motives in calling out the frontier company. “But”, he asked, “is it not a little cruel that men who spent hundreds of dollars in the expedition of 1857, who took their last bread and meat to feed the hungry soldiers, that killed their last ox for the same purpose, and who were frozen, and to this day have not recovered from the injuries received on that expedition, should be utterly neglected, when money is now paid out so lavishly? Capt. Martin has men in his own company who know these facts.” It was further asserted that much of the news concerning Indian troubles was manufactured at Des Moines and in the southern part of the State.<sup>60</sup>

Republican editors did not allow these assertions to go unchallenged. Among those who were most outspoken in defense of the Governor’s action was Charles Aldrich of Webster City, who had every opportunity to know the real facts in the case. Early in December he gave expression to his views in the following unmistakable language:

The ordering of the Frontier Guard to our Northwestern frontier has awakened the slumbering liars of the Democratic press to something of the activity which they displayed before the late

<sup>59</sup> *Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), March 26, 1859.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted from the *Fort Dodge Sentinel* in the *Iowa State Journal* (Des Moines), April 30, 1859.

The State Auditor’s report indicates that up to November 6, 1859, there was paid out of the State treasury the sum of \$19,800.79 for “Military expenses—Frontier Army”—*Report of the Auditor of State, 1859*, p. 8, in *Iowa Legislative Documents, 1859–1860*.

On December 14, 1858, William Williams of Fort Dodge wrote to Governor Lowe urging the need of frontier protection. He declared that if the War Department would place him in charge and give him one hundred men, he would “undertake to defend the whole frontier—for the time to come”.—*Correspondence, Miscellaneous, G II, 731*, in Public Archives, Des Moines.

election . . . . The source of this nonsensical clamor is the State Journal, at Des Moines . . . . That paper is a regular Thug, to which fairness, candor, honesty and truth, are the most entire strangers . . . . The Journal ridicules the idea of Indian troubles, without knowing the true condition or caring a drink of whiskey for the interests of our exposed settlements on the frontier . . . .

That Gov. Lowe is fully justified in the action he has taken, no man at all conversant with the condition of our Northwestern frontier can for a moment doubt. The dread inspired by the barbarous massacre of 1857, and the slight notice taken of it by the General Government, have driven hundreds of settlers from the State, and hundreds more would follow them but for the assurance of some sort of protection. It is a settled conviction on the part of a majority of [the] community, that a general Indian war is impending in the Northwest. It is but a few months since it required all the address of the officers connected with Indian Affairs, to prevent a general and a bloody outbreak in Western Minnesota. One of the first results of such a calamity, would be a savage incursion into our own State. When such a catastrophe may occur is beyond any human power to foretell. We are denied the protection due us from the General Government, and a spark may kindle a flame that will only be quenched by the blood of hundreds of our settlers. The State of Iowa had far better maintain a force upon her frontiers, adequate for their protection, for the next fifty years, than suffer a repetition of the barbarities of 1857. Such is the feeling on the frontier, and whether predicated upon probabilities or possibilities, the State owes it to herself to protect these pioneer settlements, and give them the assurance of safety.<sup>61</sup>

Statements like these were backed up by letters from men of good standing who were living in the region threatened by the Indians. Charles Smeltzer, county judge of Clay County, wrote to Governor Lowe that he had visited Spirit Lake and found the settlers in a state of great excitement. He had seen Indians and had discovered evidences of many more. "Now I have given you the facts," wrote Judge

<sup>61</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), December 10, 1858.

Smeltzer, "and beg of you to take some measures to protect us both in life and property. Laws will not do it, and we, as citizens of the great State of Iowa, *claim* protection, and if it is not rendered, we shall be under the necessity of killing every Indian we see, whether friendly or hostile; and by the 'eternal' we will do it, and take the consequences. For not being able to converse with them, we know not their motives, and everything argues that they are after plunder."<sup>62</sup>

At an indignation meeting held at Spirit Lake on December 20, 1858, a series of resolutions was adopted, declaring that "the citizens of Dickinson, Clay and Buena Vista counties acted prudently and wisely in petitioning the Governor as they did to exercise the power vested in him for the protection of our frontiers." They also condemned "the manner and matter, spirit and tenor of the articles which lately appeared in the public prints, over the signatures of J. S. Prescott and Wm. B. Zerby, and we pronounce the same as *gross libels* on the citizens of Northwestern Iowa, and that the same were dictated by a spirit of *personal revenge* and mercenary motives on the part of J. S. Prescott and *paid poltroonery* on the part of Wm. B. Zerby."<sup>63</sup> A committee was appointed to wait upon J. S. Prescott when he returned to the settlement and demand of him his reasons for publishing the "scandalous falsehoods" attributed to him. At about the same time, in a lengthy statement signed by more than forty settlers at the lakes, J. S. Prescott was branded as a "reverend land shark" and as "a speculating divine, who prostitutes his professed calling to base and mercenary ends, thereby deceiving the honest and unsuspecting."<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), December 22, 1858.

<sup>63</sup> *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), January 5, 1859.

"Certain individuals", wrote Charles Aldrich, "who did not dare to stay at Spirit Lake this winter, through fear of the Indians—showing infinitely

The evidence indicates that the Frontier Guards served a useful purpose during the winter of 1858-1859. They came in contact several times with Indians who had no right in Iowa, and drove them across the State line. Several Indians were also held in captivity for a time. The settlers as a whole apparently appreciated the presence of the company. Certainly if this meager military protection gave the settlers a feeling of security and kept the Indians from depredations, to say nothing of more serious hostility, it was well worth all it cost to the State — less than twenty thousand dollars for protection afforded during two winters.<sup>64</sup>

With the return of the Frontier Guards to their homes early in the spring of 1859, the question of frontier defense in Iowa ceased to demand much attention until after the outbreak of the Civil War. Governor Lowe, in his biennial message of January 9, 1860, related to the General Assembly the main facts concerning the activities of the company. A week later, in response to a request, Governor Kirkwood informed the House that the company had not been called into service for the third time. Nor had he received any information indicating a necessity for its services during that winter.<sup>65</sup>

less courage than many of the pioneer mothers and daughters who have remained at Spirit Lake — have gone up and down the State, deprecating the folly of keeping an armed force on the frontier. Had all the settlers followed their example, there certainly would have been reason and pertinence in their suggestions.''*— Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), February 25, 1859.

<sup>64</sup> For information concerning the activities of the Frontier Guards see the *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), January 7, March 11, April 16, May 21, 1859; *Boone County News* (Boonsboro), January 7, 1859; *The Iowa Citizen* (Des Moines), March 16, 1859; *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. VI, p. 939; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 171-173.

<sup>65</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 171-173, 371.

Late in February, however, Governor Kirkwood sent a special message to the legislature saying that he had just received communications from settlers living in Clay, Cherokee, and Woodbury counties, telling of Indian depredations. He pointed out the difficulty and expense of moving a military force from Fort Dodge to the threatened region at that time of the year. Consequently he recommended "that the services of persons in the valley of the Little Sioux River be invited and accepted, and that arms and ammunition, particularly the latter, be furnished them." As the law then stood Governor Kirkwood was of the opinion that he had no authority to employ any other force than the Frontier Guards, the members of which lived far distant from the scene of disturbance. A week later the Governor informed the Senate that he had received additional reports concerning Indian troubles in Cherokee County.<sup>66</sup>

In response to the Governor's suggestion the General Assembly passed a law which was published under the heading of "Army of Protection". The Governor was authorized to furnish settlers with arms and ammunition with which to defend themselves against "the threatened depredations of marauding bands of hostile Indians". The Governor might also "cause to be enrolled a company of minute men, in number not exceeding twelve, at the Governor's discretion, who shall at all times hold themselves in readiness to meet any threatened invasion of hostile Indians as aforesaid — the said minute men only to be paid for the time actually employed in the service herein contemplated." Four of these "minute men" might be employed "as an active police for such time, and to perform

<sup>66</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 376, 377, 380.

such services as may be demanded of them". The sum of five hundred dollars was made available for use in the manner contemplated in this act.<sup>67</sup>

Either the fears of the settlers were largely without foundation at this time, or the Indians soon withdrew. Newspapers, even along the frontier, paid very little attention to the scare. Furthermore, the services of the "minute men", if such a company was organized, must have been of very short duration, for the State Auditor's report for the biennium ending on November 3, 1861, reveals the sum of only \$34.75 paid to the "Army of protection for North West Iowa".<sup>68</sup>

#### INDIAN UNREST AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

It was not until the following winter that the likelihood of Indian invasion again caused anxiety in Iowa. But as the inevitability of civil strife became each day more certain, there came warnings of uneasiness among the Sioux. "I learn that the present unfortunate condition of public affairs has rendered necessary the transfer of the U. S. troops from Fort Kearny and other points in the West to the sea-board", wrote Governor Kirkwood to the Secretary of War on January 25, 1861. "It is now rumored here that large bands of Indians are gathering near Fort Kearny with hostile intentions. The northwestern border of this State has for several years last past been subject to Indian depredations, the evidence of which is on file in your De-

<sup>67</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1860, pp. 142, 143.

<sup>68</sup> *Report of the Auditor of State*, 1861, p. 10, in *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1861-1862.

In a long letter on March 5, 1860, Governor Kirkwood authorized George W. Lebourveau to organize the "minute men" provided for in the act of the legislature, and instructed him relative to the enlistment, equipment, and duties of the men so organized.—*Executive Journal*, 1858-1862, pp. 281-283, in Public Archives, Des Moines.

partment." In view of the fact that the State was almost without means of defense, the Governor asked that an extra supply of arms be stored either at Des Moines or Fort Dodge, in charge of a United States officer.<sup>69</sup> This request, however, went ungratified.

The outbreak of the Civil War naturally created quite a stir among the Sioux tribesmen. While as a whole they had maintained reasonably friendly relations with the whites, it is evident that for years they had been nursing their wrath in silence. It must be admitted that they had ample cause for resentment. They had been forced to accede to treaties made against their will and under circumstances which strongly aroused their suspicions; and too often even these unsatisfactory agreements were not faithfully observed by the government. They had also been exploited and plundered by traders, whiskey-sellers, and other disreputable frontiersmen. Furthermore, the failure of the military authorities to capture and punish Inkpaduta confirmed their growing belief that their Great Father was not so powerful as he claimed to be.<sup>70</sup> It is not strange, therefore, that the Sioux saw hope of securing revenge when the meager frontier garrisons were weakened or withdrawn, and when they observed the whites preparing for a struggle between themselves.

Immediately after the outbreak of war Governor Kirkwood renewed his request for arms with which to defend the Indian frontier. "If you could place 500 long-range

<sup>69</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 57.

<sup>70</sup> "When the Great Father had no cavalry to chase Inkpaduta, but was obliged to hire Indians to make that fruitless pursuit, the Sioux inferred that while he had a great multitude of people he could not make soldiers of them. A veteran missionary recorded the opinion that the failure of the government to pursue and capture Inkpaduta was the 'primary cause' of the uprising which came five years later."—Folwell's *Minnesota: The North Star State*, p. 193.

rifles at Council Bluffs and the same number at Sioux City, in store," he said, "to be used by me in case of necessity, I will furnish the men". This request was supplemented on the following day by another letter enclosing a communication on the same subject, written by Justice Caleb Baldwin, whose home was at Council Bluffs.<sup>71</sup>

Ten days later the Governor had not received any response, and so he made another appeal to Secretary Cameron. "I am daily receiving letters from our northwestern frontier expressing alarm on account of the Indians", he wrote. "Our people there are very uneasy, and have in my judgment good cause for fear. I don't ask for anything but arms, accouterments, and ammunition. We have plenty of men willing to use them in their own defense and that of the Government. If no arrangement has yet been made for arms for this State, do, for God's sake, send us some."<sup>72</sup>

Shortly afterward there came a reply to the Governor's earlier letter, saying that it was not the intention of the War Department to order the State troops from the West for some time, and they would be on hand to meet any emergency. "A glance at the map of Iowa", was Kirkwood's reply, "will show you that the troops raised in this State will at Keokuk be at least 300 miles from the nearest point (Council Bluffs), and 400 miles from the point (Sioux City) most exposed to Indian depredations. This will not afford any protection to the northwestern frontier. All I ask is arms and ammunition; not any men."<sup>73</sup>

Again Secretary Cameron wrote that the most he could say was that "the Chief of Ordnance advises that 1,000 stand of arms ought to be forwarded to Keokuk, to be there

<sup>71</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 86, 89.

<sup>72</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 128.

<sup>73</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 127, 158.

taken in charge by Colonel Curtis or some other responsible person, to be used in case of an emergency." With patience nearly exhausted the Governor replied that "if by this it is intended that the arms shall remain in Keokuk until an attack is actually made by Indians, and then be used to repel such attack, such arrangement will not be of practical benefit . . . . Between Keokuk and either of these points [Council Bluffs and Sioux City] there are only about 80 miles of railroad, and the balance of the way arms, &c., must be carried by wagon. The Indians might invade our State, do incalculable injury, and be gone beyond our reach long before an express could reach Keokuk and the arms taken to the point of attack. The arms to be available to us must be near the points exposed. Please consult Colonel Curtis on these matters. He is familiar with the geography of our State, and can give you important and reliable information."<sup>74</sup>

Governor Kirkwood now turned his attention to the General Assembly which he had called to meet in special session on May 15th. In his message of the following day among other things he discussed the situation with respect to the

<sup>74</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, pp. 162, 185, 186.

On May 6th Governor Kirkwood wrote to General John E. Wool that he had information to the effect that Sioux Indians were already in the State in small bands stealing horses.—*The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 163.

"The western counties are waking up to the importance of organizing home guards. The Indians may become troublesome on the frontier;—and it is a good thing to be in readiness to receive them. We hardly think it prudent for Iowans on the Southern or Western frontiers to enlist in the U. S. army. They may be needed at home, to protect their own hearthstones from ruthless invasion."—*The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 8, 1861.

Governor Kirkwood refused to accept Grenville M. Dodge's "Council Bluffs Guards" for Federal service at the outbreak of the war, for the reason that the company was badly needed on the frontier.—*Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 579, Vol. V, p. 243.

Sioux Indians. "The known facts", he said, "that the troops have been wholly or in part withdrawn from the Forts in the Territories west of us, and the restraint of their presence thus removed from the Indian tribes on our border, that the Indians have received, probably, highly colored statements in regard to the War now upon us; and that since the massacre at Spirit Lake in our State some years since, which went wholly unpunished, they have shown an aggressive disposition, coupled with the probability that they may be tampered with by bad men, render it in my judgment, a matter of imperative necessity that proper measures be taken to guard against danger from that quarter."<sup>75</sup>

## FRONTIER DEFENSE IN 1861

The legislature took due cognizance of the situation and passed several laws reorganizing or relating to the militia. In one of these laws it was declared that "for the better protection of the exposed borders of this State, to resist marauding parties of Indians and other hostile persons, to repel invasion, and to render prompt and efficient assistance to the United States," the Governor was authorized "to organize two Regiments of Infantry, one Battalion of not less than three Companies of Artillery, and one Squadron of not less than five Companies of Cavalry, and one Regiment of Mounted Riflemen for the service of the State". The companies of mounted riflemen, which were to be raised in the counties most exposed to danger, were to consist of not less than forty nor more than one hundred men. It was the understanding that these men would not be ordered into service outside the border counties.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 260.

<sup>76</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1861 (Extra Session), pp. 27-30.

Meanwhile, defensive measures were already under way. Because of the distance and the lack of facilities for communication Governor Kirkwood appointed Caleb Baldwin of Council Bluffs and A. W. Hubbard of Sioux City as aids to take charge of the plans for the protection of the frontier against the Sioux Indians. Late in April the Governor wrote to Caleb Baldwin authorizing him to direct the organization of military companies in the counties in the vicinity of Council Bluffs. "There are not now any arms to send there," he said, "except about 50 muskets, that will be sent at once. The people should organize as minute men, and arm themselves with private arms as well as they can . . . . If they are called on to act against Indians, they had better act as mounted men."<sup>77</sup>

Shortly after the receipt of this letter Judge Baldwin issued an appeal to the people of western Iowa to organize at least one military company in each county; and he was heartily seconded by the editor of a Council Bluffs paper.<sup>78</sup>

At Sioux City, which was the largest town in the region most exposed to Indian raids, there was much interest in plans for defense. About the middle of May it was reported

<sup>77</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 410. See also the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 11, 1861.

<sup>78</sup> *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 11, 1861.

On May 21st Governor Kirkwood informed the House of Representatives that several companies had been organized under these instructions. "I have forwarded to Council Bluffs", he said, "140 stand of arms, and have ordered one 8 lb. field piece, and 40 revolvers with the necessary equipments and ammunition transported thither without delay, incurring for express charges, freight, &c., &c., an expense now known as \$359.95. The force necessary to protect the North and Western frontier should be had by organizing in each county one company of mounted rangers who should meet for drill and company exercise as often as their patriotism and interest might induce them to do, and the expense attending such force consists in furnishing each member of a company with a rifle and sword bayonet, valued at from 23 to 50 dollars, and a Colt's revolver valued at 22 to 25 dollars."—Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 410, 411.

that "Gen. Tripps 'Frontier Guards'" was rapidly filling up: it then had more than fifty members. It was also said that the Governor had forwarded five hundred stand of arms to Sioux City and they might be expected within a few days.<sup>79</sup> Apparently both a mounted company and an infantry company were organized at Sioux City; and on May 18th the "Frontier Rangers" elected officers — choosing James S. Morton as captain.<sup>80</sup>

As summer advanced reports of a threatened Indian invasion grew more and more exaggerated as they spread farther from the frontier. "The Davenport *Gazette*", said a Sioux City editor about the middle of June, "learns from Des Moines that three thousand Indians, apparently with hostile intent, were within fifty miles of Sioux City, and that the whole Northwestern part of the State was in great alarm from the apprehended attack." The editor emphatically denied the truth of any such assertion. "There are no Indians, 'with hostile intent' encamped within 50 or more than 50 miles of Sioux City", he declared. "The depredations upon the property of citizens of this part of Iowa, have been committed by a roving band of four or five Indians, and thus far their operations have been confined to horse-stealing — not to scalp taking."<sup>81</sup>

Nevertheless, each week witnessed new cases of horse-stealing by Indians in Woodbury and Plymouth counties. The rangers from Sioux City, and settlers from Correctionville and other points several times went in pursuit of the redskins. In one case at least the pursuers caught up

<sup>79</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, May 18, 1861.

A week later it was stated that the arms of the frontier company were "stored in the Post Office for safety, as well as in case of any emergency."—*The Sioux City Register*, May 25, 1861.

<sup>80</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, May 25, 1861.

<sup>81</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, June 15, 1861.

with the robbers and engaged in a small skirmish; but with the possible exception of a few wounds the Indians in each instance escaped unscathed.<sup>82</sup>

A more serious episode, however, occurred on Tuesday, June 9th, about three miles from Sioux City. On the morning of that day Thomas Roberts and Henry Cordua went out from town to plow a patch of potatoes. About noon they were shot in ambush by some Indians, who afterward made off with their horses—the murder apparently having been committed for the purpose of accomplishing the theft. When the crime was discovered late that night the news was at once taken to Sioux City and Captain Tripp and twenty mounted riflemen started in pursuit of the criminals.

“Capt. Tripp and his men followed the trail of the Indians some 50 miles,” according to the account in a Sioux City paper, “when, owing to their having left in great haste, without taking time to prepare rations, they were compelled from exhaustion to abandon the chase and return home. Capt. Morton, with a detachment of mounted Rangers, being provided with provisions continued the pursuit, but as we go to press we learn that he has returned to Melbourne without having succeeded in overtaking the Indians. We are also informed that another detachment of Capt. Tripp’s company are making arrangements to start in pursuit of the Indians, and that they will not return until

<sup>82</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, June 15, 22, 1861.

“The troubles with the Indians on our Western borders are thickening. Since the 1st of April, according to the evidence of the Boyer Valley Record, more than 30 horses have been stolen at Smithland, Correctionville, Ida Grove and other points.”—*The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 10, 1861.

About this time the Mills County Mounted Minute Men proceeded to the vicinity of Sioux City to help in quieting the apprehensions of the settlers.—*Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, July 13, 1861; *The Sioux City Register*, July 13, 1861. The latter paper contains a roster of the company.

they will have chastised the Indians, or exhausted all hope of finding them."<sup>83</sup> Apparently the latter result was accomplished rather than the former, for there is no record that the culprits were captured or even overtaken.

This episode naturally caused alarm in the northwestern counties, and again rumors of a general Indian war spread to distant points. At Des Moines a mounted company, commanded by John Mitchell, was quickly raised. It proceeded at once to Sioux City, where it arrived on July 23rd, and remained in northwestern Iowa for several weeks.<sup>84</sup>

The editor of the *Sioux City Register* did not believe there was danger of an attack by Sioux Indians in large numbers. But at the same time it was necessary that the settlers should be on the alert and prepared to meet any emergency. "The tribe or tribes", he said, "to which these murderers and thieves belong should be required to apprehend and deliver them up for punishment. If they refuse to do this, then duty, safety and honor demand that the settlers should raise a sufficient force, invade their country and give them such treatment as murderers and their abettors merit. The time has arrived when the tribes to which these marauders belong, must receive bullets from Federal muskets instead of dollars from the Federal treasury." The agents for these tribes should see that their wards should not be allowed to leave the reservations under any

<sup>83</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, July 13, 1861.

Captain Morton made a detailed statement one week later explaining why the pursuit had been unfruitful, and recommending that the volunteer, half civilian and half military companies which were expected to protect the frontier should be replaced by a regular organization, well equipped, whose sole duty it should be to guard the frontier, and even to proceed into the Indian country.—*The Sioux City Register*, July 20, 1861.

<sup>84</sup> *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 17, 1861; *The Sioux City Register*, July 27, 1861. A roster of the company is printed in the latter paper.

pretext. "It is difficult", he continued, "to distinguish the difference between a friendly and a hostile Indian; and in the present state of feeling which exists in some sections upon the frontier, an Indian — be he friend or foe — holds his life by a very precarious tenure when within the range of a settler's rifle."<sup>85</sup>

Indian horse-thieves continued to infest northwestern Iowa during the remainder of the summer and fall of 1861, and travelers on the roads leading to Sioux City were on several occasions attacked by small bands of Sioux outlaws, well mounted and armed. Both the Sioux City riflemen and John Mitchell's company from Des Moines were kept on the frontier all summer to check the depredations as far as possible and give the settlers a feeling of security.<sup>86</sup>

About the middle of August the Governor received authority from the War Department to raise a company of cavalry for the defense of the northwestern frontier in Iowa. The men in this company were to be mustered into United States service for a period of three years.<sup>87</sup> The company, which was known as the Sioux City Cavalry Company, was recruited to the required strength by October and the election of officers occurred on the twelfth of that month: Andrew J. Millard was chosen captain; James A. Sawyers, first lieutenant; and Jacob T. Coplan, second lieutenant. On November 14th the men were mustered into United States service by Lieutenant George S. Hollister.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, July 13, 1861.

<sup>86</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, August 10, 17, September 7, 21, 28, 1861; *The Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 18, 1861.

<sup>87</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. I, p. 410.

<sup>88</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, October 19, November 16, 1861.

For the roster of this company, which contains over one hundred names and in addition several which were rejected by the mustering officer, see the *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1863, Vol. II, pp. 648-651; *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. IV, pp. 1773-1780. While the largest number of the

During the fall and winter detachments of the company were stationed at Spirit Lake, Cherokee, and Correctionville, to protect the exposed settlements in that region, but there is no record of their activities.<sup>89</sup> In his biennial message of January, 1862, Governor Kirkwood was able to report that tranquillity on the frontier had been preserved, and he expressed the hope that the cavalry company would prove "sufficient for the protection of that portion of our State."<sup>90</sup>

#### THE SIOUX UPRISING OF 1862

The spring and early summer of 1862 passed without any recurrence of Indian alarm. In May, to be sure, a temporary flurry of excitement was caused in Sioux City and the surrounding region by the report that Captain Millard's company had captured thirteen Indians. The news spread rapidly and with each re-telling it grew in importance, until finally there was a general belief that a large band of Indians, led by Inkpaduta, was about to attack the settlements, when it was met by Captain Millard's company; and that in the ensuing conflict the Indians were defeated and Inkpaduta and twelve of his braves captured. The excitement quickly subsided when it was learned that the captives were an old Indian and his wife and eleven children, who were soon given safe escort to the borders of the State.<sup>91</sup>

members resided in Sioux City, practically every settlement in northwestern Iowa was represented. A brief history of the company, in which there are some errors, is to be found in the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. IV, pp. 1771, 1772. The company became Company I of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry on July 14, 1863.

<sup>89</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, November 23, December 7, 1861. Late in January, 1862, the company gave a ball in Sioux City to celebrate the arrival of their uniforms.—*The Sioux City Register*, January 11, February 1, 1862.

<sup>90</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 279.

<sup>91</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, May 17, 1862.

Three months later, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, came the news of the Indian outbreak in Minnesota. The summer of 1862 found many bands of the Sioux almost on the verge of starvation. Moreover, they were consumed with rage because their annuities, which should have been paid when the grass grew green in the spring, had not yet been distributed to them. Thus it was that the murder of five settlers on August 17th by a wandering party of Sioux hunters was the spark which kindled a great conflagration. Under the leadership of Little Crow the redskins took up the hatchet along the entire Minnesota frontier. At New Ulm and at other points not far above the northern boundary of Iowa in the next few days they perpetrated the bloodiest massacre in American history. The estimates of the number of white victims vary from five hundred to fifteen hundred, but the most careful count places the number at more than six hundred and fifty.<sup>92</sup>

The news of this massacre naturally spread terror throughout the frontier settlements. The extreme northwestern corner of Iowa — roughly speaking, that portion cut off by a line drawn diagonally from Sioux City to Estherville — was the section of this State most exposed to danger because of the weakness of the settlements. But even as far into the interior as Fort Dodge and Webster City there was great alarm until reports of the defensive measures taken by Federal authorities and by Minnesota and Iowa gave assurance of a barrier against the southward movement of the Indians.<sup>93</sup>

Sioux City was perhaps the point in Iowa where the ef-

<sup>92</sup> Folwell's *Minnesota: The North Star State*, p. 211. Chapters XI, XII, and XIII in Professor Folwell's volume contain an excellent account of the Sioux outbreak and of subsequent military operations. This is a subject upon which an immense amount has been written.

<sup>93</sup> *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), August 30, 1862.

fектs of the widespread alarm were most fully manifested. It was the largest town in that region, and its location made it the natural place of refuge for settlers not only from the adjoining counties in Iowa, but also from Dakota Territory and southwestern Minnesota. "Saturday evening, night and Sunday forenoon there was a continuous train of wagons from Dakota into Sioux City", runs a newspaper account early in September. "In many cases the women and children were bare headed, bare footed, poorly clad, and almost destitute of provisions, showing the extreme hurry in which they left. Many did not stop here but kept on their way South. All had the most alarming stories to relate of Indians which they had seen—burning houses, towns destroyed, &c. Saturday evening a messenger arrived here bringing the seemingly reliable intelligence that the Yanktons had risen and great danger was imminent. It is easier to imagine than describe the excitement that such a state of things would necessarily produce on the exposed frontier. Happily the immediate danger was more imaginary than real, and many of the exciting rumors were without any sufficient foundation. Still all the settlers upon the frontier have become intensely excited and alarmed. They have left their homes, and property, and crops unharvested. Nor will they return in very many cases unless they are assured of safety from marauding Indians."<sup>94</sup>

As Lieutenant Colonel H. C. Nutt hastened northward from Council Bluffs he found the road south of Sioux City "lined with families leaving, and in such terror as to preclude getting any reliable information. They were all bound to get away from the Indians." He endeavored to

<sup>94</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, September 13, 1862. See also the issue for August 30th.

dissuade these fugitives from abandoning their homes, but generally without success. At Sioux City he found so many people that he concluded that practically all the settlers of northwestern Iowa had fled to that place for safety or had already gone farther south.<sup>95</sup>

Preparations for defense were made all along the frontier as soon as the seriousness of the situation was fully realized. Volunteer companies were organized at Sioux City, Spirit Lake, Estherville, Algona, Fort Dodge, Webster City, and other points; and Captain Millard took his cavalry company to Spirit Lake, where he found the settlers preparing to defend themselves in the courthouse in case of attack.<sup>96</sup> At Sioux City a fortification three hundred feet square was erected.<sup>97</sup>

On August 29th Governor Kirkwood instructed Schuyler R. Ingham of Des Moines to proceed at once to Fort Dodge and other points in the northwest and to take such steps as he deemed necessary to protect the inhabitants of the frontier. "Arms and powder will be sent to you at Fort Dodge", he said. "Lead and caps will be sent with you. I hand you an order on the Auditor of State for one thousand dollars."<sup>98</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, pp. 638, 639.

<sup>96</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, August 30, 1862; *Hamilton Freeman* (Webster City), August 30, 1862; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, p. 482.

Because of the lack of facilities for communication the news of the massacre was slow in reaching the settlements in Iowa; and at first little heed was paid to the stories on account of the fact that everyone was engrossed in the events of the war in the South.—See Ingham's *The Iowa Northern Border Brigade of 1862-3* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 481-523.

In the opening pages of this article, William H. Ingham of Algona, who was captain of Company A of the Northern Border Brigade, tells of the early preparations for defense and of a trip which he and a companion made into Minnesota for the purpose of investigating the condition of affairs.

<sup>97</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, September 13, 1862.

<sup>98</sup> *Report of the Adjutant General* (Iowa), 1863, Vol. II, p. 861.

Mr. Ingham immediately proceeded to carry out these instructions. He visited Webster, Humboldt, Kossuth, Palo Alto, Emmet, and Dickinson counties, and found the settlers greatly excited. Many of them were leaving their homes and moving to the more thickly settled portions of the State. "This feeling, however," he wrote in his report, "seemed to be more intense and to run higher in the more inland and remote counties from the border, than in the border counties themselves." In Emmet and Kossuth counties he called meetings of the settlers for the purpose of agreeing on measures to be taken. "They expressed themselves freely and were very temperate in their demands." All they considered necessary was a small force of mounted men to act in connection with the Sioux City Cavalry then stationed at Spirit Lake. But they insisted that this force "must be made up of men, such as they could choose from amongst themselves, who were familiar with the country and had been engaged in hunting and trapping for years, and were more or less familiar with the habits and customs of the Indians, one of which men would be worth half a dozen such as the State had sent up there on one or two former occasions."

The raising of a company in Emmet, Palo Alto, Kossuth, and Humboldt counties was therefore authorized. "Within five days forty men were enlisted; held an election for officers, were mustered in, furnished with arms and ammunition, and placed on duty." Twenty men were stationed at Chain Lakes and twenty at Estherville. At Spirit Lake Mr. Ingham found forty members of Captain Millard's company, and aside from furnishing the settlers with arms, he considered further protection at this point unnecessary. At Fort Dodge he had obtained nearly two hundred "Austrian rifles", forty-three "Springfield muskets", and a con-

siderable quantity of ammunition. About one-third of the rifles and all of the muskets were placed where it was thought they were needed and would be of the most service.<sup>99</sup>

Sioux City was amply defended. In addition to a portion of Captain Millard's cavalry and the volunteers who prepared to resist any possible Indian attack, the garrison of the town for a time included a squad of artillery from Council Bluffs and three companies of infantry from Council Bluffs and Harrison County. These latter companies had been raised for Federal service, but had not yet been mustered in; and consequently they had been ordered to Sioux City upon the receipt of the news of the Indian uprising.<sup>100</sup> "Altogether Sioux City has a military look", declared Editor Patrick Robb. "The 350 soldiers here are much of the time engaged in drill, and the shrill sound of the fife, the roll of drums, and notes of the bugle, are becoming quite familiar."<sup>101</sup> These troops gave the people the needed feeling of security and soon restored their confidence. But Lieutenant Colonel Nutt believed that if he had taken them away immediately, he would also have taken with them "every woman and child at least, and most of the men."<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> S. R. Ingham's report to Governor Kirkwood in the *Report of the Adjutant General* (Iowa), 1863, Vol. II, pp. 861-863.

It should be said in this connection that Governor Kirkwood also commissioned George L. Davenport of Davenport to examine into and report upon the danger of an Indian attack upon the Iowa frontier. Mr. Davenport visited Minnesota, Nebraska Territory, Dakota Territory, and the Indians in Tama County, and made three reports in September and October.—*Report of the Adjutant General* (Iowa), 1863, Vol. II, pp. 867-869.

<sup>100</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, September 13, 20, 27, October 4, 11, 1862.

<sup>101</sup> *The Sioux City Register*, September 20, 1862.

<sup>102</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 639.

## THE NORTHERN IOWA BORDER BRIGADE

While these activities were in progress the General Assembly convened in special session on September 3rd. "Startling rumors have recently reached me of danger to our people on the North-Western Frontier, from hostile Indians", said Governor Kirkwood in his message to the legislature. "I immediately despatched Schuyler R. Ingham, Esq., of Des Moines City, to the scene of danger, with arms and ammunition, and full authority to act as circumstances might require. I have not yet had a report from him, but will immediately upon receipt of such report, communicate with you by special message, should the emergency require your attention."<sup>103</sup>

The General Assembly, however, did not wait for a further communication from the Governor. Within three days, by an almost unanimous vote, both houses passed an act "to provide for the Protection of the North-Western Frontier of Iowa from Hostile Indians." By this law the Governor was "authorized and required, to raise a volunteer force in the State of Iowa from the counties most convenient to the North-Western border of said State, of not less than five hundred mounted men, and such other force as he may deem necessary, to be mustered into service by a person to be appointed by the Governor, at such place as he may designate, to be stationed at various points in the North-Western counties of said State, in such numbers in a body as he may deem best for the protection of that portion of the State from hostile Indians, at the earliest possible moment."

General regulations were provided for the organization of this force. The men were to be furnished as far as pos-

<sup>103</sup> Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 317.

sible with arms belonging to the State. Each man was to furnish his own horse and subsistence; and was to receive the same compensation as was received by regular United States troops — the expense to be paid out of the State War and Defense Fund. The Governor might keep these troops in service as long as he deemed necessary, and during that time they were to be exempt from the draft.<sup>104</sup>

This law was twice amended before the special session came to an end. In one case the Governor was authorized to furnish horses and subsistence if he deemed such action expedient. The other amendment was explanatory of the original act, which was "to be understood to mean that the Governor of the State of Iowa is required to raise, arm, equip, and provide for the volunteer force in said Act provided for, only at such times and in such manner as in his judgment the danger to the frontier settlers may require such action."<sup>105</sup>

The reason for this explanation is not entirely clear. Its

<sup>104</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1862 (Special Session), pp. 1, 2. See also *Journal of the Senate*, 1862 (Special Session), p. 20; and *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1862 (Special Session), p. 36. The bill was introduced by a special committee of the Senate, of which John F. Duncombe was chairman.

It has been asserted to the writer by persons who were well acquainted with the facts that Governor Kirkwood did not desire the organization of the force provided for in this act, and that he did not deem it necessary. It has also been hinted that by some persons the raising of these companies was welcomed as an opportunity to escape the draft. The writer, however, has seen no documentary evidence bearing out these assertions.

The nearest approach is a letter written on September 19, 1862, by N. H. Brainerd, Military Secretary to Governor Kirkwood. In this letter he defended S. R. Ingham against criticism which had been made. "He never represented that the alarm on the border was for the purposes of speculation", wrote Brainerd, "but that some parties were endeavoring to speculate out of it by buying up the property of those who are fleeing from their homes and by others from the quartering of troops." "Your reports", he said in another connection, "come in large part from those who are badly scared or perhaps in some instances from those who have selfish ends to serve." — *Kirkwood Military Letter Book*, No. 2, pp. 674, 675.

<sup>105</sup> *Laws of Iowa*, 1862 (Special Session), pp. 5, 16, 17.

passage suggests that the Governor may have regarded the original law as a reflection upon his interest in frontier defense and upon the measures along that line which he had already taken. The action in the Senate lends color to this view. The amendment was introduced by Senator Alfred F. Brown. Immediately Senator Duncombe, who had introduced the original bill, moved to indefinitely postpone and demanded the yeas and nays. The vote was decisively against postponement. Senator Brown then moved that the eleventh rule be suspended and the bill read a third time. Again Senator Duncombe demanded the yeas and nays, and again the vote went against him. The bill was therefore read a third time and passed.<sup>106</sup> It was not until after this explanatory amendment had been passed that Governor Kirkwood took steps to organize the frontier force contemplated in the law.

On September 12th the Governor issued "General Orders, No. 1", announcing that, pursuant to the law just enacted, five companies would be accepted for frontier service: one to be raised at Sioux City, one at Denison, one at Fort Dodge, and one at Webster City, while the fifth was to consist of the company already stationed at Chain Lakes and Estherville. Each company was to contain not less than forty nor more than eighty members. Company officers were to be elected in the manner prescribed by law; and afterwards an election, in charge of Mr. S. R. Ingham, was to be held to choose a Lieutenant Colonel to have command of the entire force. The places at which the companies were to be stationed were to be selected first by Mr. Ingham and afterwards by the Lieutenant Colonel.

<sup>106</sup> *Journal of the Senate, 1862* (Special Session), pp. 65, 66.

At this same session there was adopted a joint resolution requesting the Secretary of War to send troops to chastise the Indians who had committed the massacre in Minnesota.—*Laws of Iowa, 1862* (Special Session), p. 51.

"Sufficient tools", the order stated, "will be furnished to enable the men at such points as may be designated to erect block houses for quarters, and inclose grounds with a stockade. These houses and grounds are intended as rallying points in the future for the settlers in cases like the present, at which they can maintain themselves until help can reach them. This, in my judgment, is the only way in which security can ever be given to the border. The State cannot, and the United States will not, maintain an army all the time in the field for their protection, and unless some means can be devised by which the settlers can be prevented from abandoning their homes in case of alarm, it will be long before settlements will be made. These block houses, it seems to me, afford a means by which this may be done."

When in service the officers and men in these companies were to devote themselves exclusively to their duty. Absences were to be granted only in case of sickness or for a cause affecting the public interest. "Drunkenness of either officers, non-commissioned officers or privates, while on duty," said the Governor, "will be deemed sufficient cause for dismissal from service without compensation or pay." Each man was required to furnish his own horse and equipments, but subsistence and forage would be furnished by the State. The compensation was to be the same as was "provided for like service by the United States".<sup>107</sup>

On the following day Governor Kirkwood entrusted the execution of these orders to S. R. Ingham, who had reported for further instructions upon hearing of the law passed by the legislature. "It is impossible to foresee the contingencies that may arise, rendering necessary a change in these orders or the prompt exercise of powers not herein contained, and delay for the purpose of consulting me

<sup>107</sup> *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1863, Vol. II, pp. 863, 864.

might result disastrously," said the Governor in his letter of instructions. "In order to avoid these results, as far as possible, I hereby confer upon you all the powers I myself have in this regard. You may change, alter, modify, or add to the orders named, as in your sound discretion you may deem best."<sup>108</sup>

With these new instructions S. R. Ingham proceeded again to northwestern Iowa. First, according to his report made in November, he mustered into service four companies raised at Fort Dodge, Webster City, Denison, and Sioux City. The horses and equipments furnished by the men did not in all cases measure up to the requirements for United States service, but under the circumstances they were the best that could be secured. "One company was stationed at Chain Lakes, one at Estherville, and portions of companies at each of the following points, to-wit: Ocheyedan, Peterson, Cherokee, Ida, Sac City, Correctionville, West Fork, Little Sioux, and Melbourne, thus forming, in conjunction with the portions of Capt. Millard's Company stationed at Sioux City and Spirit Lake, a complete line of communication between Chain Lakes and Sioux City."

In accordance with the wishes of the settlers it was decided to erect block-houses and stockades at Correctionville, Cherokee, Peterson, Estherville, and Chain Lakes, although in some instances the locations might not be deemed the best from a technical military point of view. In most cases the settlers furnished timber with which to erect these fortifications, free of cost to the State, and helped in hauling it. But at Peterson the persons owning the largest tracts of timber land refused to furnish materials, "without being paid five dollars per M., standing in the tree." Mr. Ingham did not hesitate to give orders to

<sup>108</sup> *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa), 1863, Vol. II, p. 864.*

disregard this ungenerous attitude in case other timber could not be secured. In some localities, where timber was scarce, sod was used to good advantage. At Spirit Lake the brick courthouse, with a surrounding stockade which had already been built, offered substantial protection.

The chief difficulty in maintaining a force of mounted men in that region was in securing the required amount of forage at reasonable prices. The men immediately put up some hay upon their arrival at their posts, but the season was so far advanced that a sufficient quantity could not be secured in that manner. "Corn and oats are raised in but limited quantities, as yet, in the immediate vicinity of the posts," said Mr. Ingham, "and what surplus the inhabitants have to dispose of is held at extremely high prices, when it is considered that they have no market for it except the one created by the demand for supplies for the use of the troops. Most of the corn and oats have to be hauled from twenty to sixty miles, which increases the cost very materially by the time they are delivered at the posts. Still, notwithstanding these difficulties, up to this time, Quartermaster Lewis H. Smith, through his indomitable energy and perseverance has been able to supply them at comparatively low prices".

On November 7th an election for Lieutenant Colonel was held, and the choice fell to James A. Sawyers, who formerly had been first lieutenant in the Sioux City Cavalry Company. With this event responsibility was shifted chiefly to the new commander, and Mr. Ingham submitted a lengthy report to the Governor. He did not think it would be necessary to keep the entire force in service after the completion of the block-houses and stockades: three companies would then afford ample protection to the frontier.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>109</sup> *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa), 1863, Vol. II, pp. 864-866.* This

The history of the Northern Iowa Border Brigade is largely the record of the erection of the line of fortifications in northwestern Iowa.<sup>110</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Sawyers visited the posts immediately after receiving his commission, and made a report covering the work done up to the first of December. Stables, small block-houses, and cabins had been erected at several points, but the work on the more important fortifications had only been begun.<sup>111</sup>

Fort-building, however, did not occupy all the time of the men in these companies. "In addition to this", wrote one of the captains many years later, "there were the camp duties, drilling, scouting, target practice, and the keeping up of communication between the different posts and the U. S. forces at Fairmont, Minn., and at Sioux City. Now and then government dispatches were passed along the line, and whenever of great importance they were sent through from post to post on limited time. This service came to be known as the 'pony express.' A part of the brigade was supplied with Austrian rifles from Gen. Fremont's famous purchase. While they were not the best, they were probably the best that could be obtained at that time. Many of the cartridges were defective so that when discharged it

report is also to be found in *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 491-498.

On November 22, 1862, Quartermaster Lewis H. Smith made a report to S. R. Ingham, giving a detailed statement of the arms and ammunition received and of the manner of their disposition.—*Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1863, Vol. II, pp. 866, 867.

<sup>110</sup> Rosters of the five companies may be found in the *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1863, Vol. II, pp. 672-680; and also in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 513-523.

The captains of the five companies were as follows: William H. Ingham, Company A; William Williams, Company B; Harvey W. Crapper, Company C; James M. Butler, Company D; and Jerome M. White, Company E.

<sup>111</sup> Report of Lieutenant Colonel Sawyers in the *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1863, Vol. II, pp. 869, 870.

became a question as to the direction in which they were likely to do the most harm". The Indians did not trouble the Iowa frontier that winter; although in March, 1863, the massacre of some settlers in Minnesota again caused all sorts of wild rumors, and the presence of the troops helped to quiet the excitement.<sup>112</sup>

Companies B and D soon completed the fortifications which they had been assigned to build, and were mustered out of service — their places being taken by detachments from the other companies.<sup>113</sup> It was not until the spring and summer of 1863 that Lieutenant Colonel Sawyers was able to make a final report upon the work done at the other points.

Of all these frontier fortifications apparently the most extensive was "Fort Defiance" at Estherville, built by Company A under Captain William H. Ingham. The stockade of this "fort" was built of planks four inches thick and enclosed an area which was about one hundred and thirty feet square. At one corner and extending six feet beyond the stockade were the barracks, "a building fifty-two feet in length, eighteen feet in width, made of timbers eight inches thick". The office and commissary room at another corner was a building fourteen by thirty-two feet in dimensions, built in much the same manner as the barracks. The entire south side of the enclosure was formed by a barn, the sides of which were covered with boards an inch thick, while the ends were built of four-inch planks. The exposed side of the barn was protected by "a

<sup>112</sup> Ingham's *The Iowa Northern Border Brigade of 1862-3* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 499, 501. This article is accompanied by numerous portraits of officers in the brigade and drawings of the fortifications which were erected.

<sup>113</sup> Ingham's *The Iowa Northern Border Brigade of 1862-3* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, p. 501.

sod wall, five feet at its base and two feet wide on top, seven and one-half feet high". Within the stockade were a guard-house, a well furnishing "an abundance of excellent water", and a flag-staff.<sup>114</sup>

The preparations for defense at other points were less elaborate but equally well adapted to repel an Indian attack. The block-houses and officers' quarters at Peterson, for instance, were built of oak and ash timbers ten inches square, with roofs of soft maple boards. The stockade was constructed of timbers six inches square. In each case the stockade surrounded an area large enough to accommodate a considerable number of settlers with their live-stock and wagons.<sup>115</sup>

Companies A, C, and E of the Northern Border Brigade remained in service until late in September, 1863. On the twenty-sixth of that month Adjutant General Baker of Iowa issued an order disbanding the brigade, and authorizing the formation of a single company to take its place. This company was soon organized, with William H. Ingham as its captain, and remained in service for about three months, with headquarters at Estherville. Then after considerable correspondence Adjutant General Baker succeeded in inducing Brigadier General Sully to detail United States troops for the protection of the Iowa frontier, thus relieving the State of that duty. On November 21st Baker issued an order stating that Captain Ingham's company would be

<sup>114</sup> Letter of Lieutenant Colonel Sawyers to Governor Kirkwood, June 8, 1863, in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 504, 505. A photograph of the fort faces p. 505. See also pp. 499, 503, for references to the building of the fort.

<sup>115</sup> For descriptions in letters written by Lieutenant Colonel Sawyers and for drawings of the defenses at Peterson, Cherokee, Correctionville, and Iowa Lake see the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 496, 500, 501, 503, 504. The letters of Lieutenant Colonel Sawyers to Governor Kirkwood may also be found in the *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1864, pp. 665-669.

disbanded on January 1, 1864, unless sooner relieved by United States troops.<sup>116</sup>

Late in December Captain Ingham received a letter from General Sully at Sioux City "stating that a squad of cavalry from his command would report at Estherville on the morning of Dec. 30 to relieve the state troops and take possession of the post. The members of the company were soon called together and notified to be fully prepared for the coming event. At about ten o'clock the next morning the troops made their appearance and lined up outside of the gates. Quite soon after the state troops with all their effects passed out and left the works to be taken in charge by U. S. troops. And so ended the services of the last members of the Northern Border Brigade."<sup>117</sup>

Detachments of the Sixth Iowa Cavalry remained on the Iowa frontier until mustered out of service in 1865. The Indians, however, had long since ceased to be a menace to the settlers, most of whom had returned to their homes as soon as protection had been assured. The Sioux had been severely chastised by United States troops in 1862, 1863, and 1864 in vigorous campaigns in Minnesota and Dakota.<sup>118</sup> The close of the Civil War, therefore, also marks the end of the Indian problem in Iowa. There was no longer an Indian frontier in this State.

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<sup>116</sup> *Report of the Adjutant General (Iowa)*, 1864, pp. 669-673.

<sup>117</sup> Ingham's *The Iowa Northern Border Brigade of 1862-3* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, p. 510.

<sup>118</sup> For an account of these campaigns see Folwell's *Minnesota: The North Star State*, Chs. XI-XIII; and Robinson's *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians*, Chs. XXVI-XXXI, in the *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. II.

## THE AGES OF THE SOLDIERS IN THE CIVIL WAR

The adoption of the selective draft to raise an army for the World War has revived interest in the discussion relative to the ages of soldiers during the Civil War. So many incorrect statements on the subject appear in print and are heard from the platform that in the interest of truth the matter deserves careful investigation. In the last few months a religious paper stated that the average age of the Civil War veterans at the close of the war was nineteen. Recently a prominent Grand Army man declared that there were a million soldiers in the Civil War who were under sixteen years of age; while a leading educator asserted that one-third of the men in the armies of the sixties were under sixteen. Some false statistics purporting to have been compiled from the official records at Washington went the rounds of the press about fourteen years ago and furnished some grounds for the extravagant statements quoted above. The following are the ages as given in these so-called official statistics:

AGE	NUMBER
10 years and under.....	25
11 years and under.....	38
12 years and under.....	225
13 years and under.....	300
14 years and under.....	1525
15 years and under.....	104987
16 years and under.....	231051
17 years and under.....	844891
18 years and under.....	1151438
21 years and under.....	2159978
22 years and over.....	618511
25 years and over.....	46626
44 years and over.....	16071

These figures, claiming to be official, evidently made a deep impression on the country. They were filed away by teachers, preachers, lawyers, members of Congress, and others, and they have been given to the public on Memorial Days and other patriotic occasions so often that one may seem rash to question their accuracy. The more the writer studied the figures, however, the more he became satisfied that they could not possibly be correct. A letter was written to the Adjutant General at Washington, asking whether the figures were official. He replied that the War Department was the only department that could make such a tabulation of ages and that this had never been done. He further added that the tabulation was "baseless and misleading" and "entitled to no credit whatever".

Thousands of letters have gone out from the Adjutant General's office to correct these false figures, but without avail. On the twenty-sixth of April, 1917, Hon. Julius Kahn of California addressed the Adjutant General, asking information concerning the correctness of the figures in question. The Adjutant General replied in language almost identical with that used in his letter to the present writer, stating that the figures had no official sanction whatever. Yet in August, 1917, Lieutenant General S. B. M. Young, in making a plea that the draft age should be reduced to nineteen, quoted the same erroneous figures and said that they were from the "official records". Quoted by one so high in rank, they will have a new lease of life and continue to hide the truth.

It will be seen that in this so-called tabulation of ages that more than ninety-eight per cent of the soldiers were under twenty-five years of age and less than two per cent were twenty-five years old or older. A very little investigation will show how absurd these figures are.

One who served in an army like Sherman's, with its seven corps, and saw the men under all possible conditions — on the march, in camp, on picket duty, on the skirmish line, in battle, and on parade — has a good general impression as to whether the army was composed largely of boys in their early teens or whether it was made up of men eighteen, twenty-five, thirty-five years of age or older. This impression, however, has been verified by a careful study of the facts.

The ages of the veterans now living will give some idea of their ages at the time of the Civil War. It must be kept in mind, however, that about seven-eighths of the men who served in the Civil War have died, and that the one-eighth now living are men somewhat younger than the average. Naturally the older men have passed away in the fifty-seven years since the war began.

Another means of determining the approximate ages of the Civil War veterans is the list of deaths published in the *National Tribune* almost every week. Occasionally an age will be given as low as 69 and others as high as 95 or even 100, but the average is about 76 or 77, as may be easily noted. Of course these veterans who are dying each week are the older men, but they are the older members of a remnant comprising not more than one-eighth of the total strength of the Union armies during the Civil War.

The records of the pension office make it plain that the number of very young soldiers was small. The exact ages of individuals are not given, but they are divided into groups. On June 30, 1917, there were 329,226 survivors of the Civil War enrolled as pensioners. Of this number 38,190 receive pensions on account of general disability. The remaining 291,036 receive pensions in accordance with their length of service and ages. The table showing their ages in 1917 is as follows:

62 years and under 66.....	3,113
66 and under 70.....	28,966
70 years and under 75.....	121,476
75 years and over.....	137,481
<hr/>	
Total .....	291,036

It will be seen from this table that those of the youngest class form less than one per cent of the total number of pensioners, and a little over one per cent of those who are classed by ages. The largest class of pensioners consists of those who are seventy-five or older, and the next class is composed of those from seventy to seventy-four years of age. It would be interesting to know the actual ages of those who are the youngest and what their service was. Some of them doubtless were musicians and orderlies, but others of them must have served in the ranks.

The average age of soldiers in one State during the Civil War will be found to be practically the same as that in other States. There is no reason why there should be any difference, except in an occasional instance where a regiment was raised for a special purpose. Minnesota has published a roster of the soldiers from that State, and the ages have been tabulated. The whole number of soldiers is 20,520. In 519 cases no ages have been given. Of the number whose ages are given just 30 are fifteen years old or under. This is a small per cent and it is the writer's belief that other States would make a similar showing. Of those sixteen years old there are 105, and of those seventeen years old there are 226. Of those who enlisted at the age of eighteen there are 2291 — more men enlisting at that age than at any other. Indeed, eighteen seems to have been the age at which the largest number of men enlisted in all the States.

According to the so-called official records less than two per cent should have enlisted at the age of twenty-five or

older. In Minnesota, however, more than fifty per cent enlisted at twenty-five or older. Nearly sixteen hundred enlisted at the age of forty or over. There were ninety-three who enlisted at the age of 45, and fifty-four who enlisted at the age of 46 or older.

In an Ohio regiment over nineteen per cent of the men enlisted at the age of 18, and over forty per cent enlisted at the age of 25 and over. In a New York command more men enlisted at the age of 18 than at any other age, one enlisted at 17, and more than forty per cent enlisted at the age of 25 and over. The roster of the Twenty-second Maine tells practically the same story. One hundred and fifty-three enlisted at the age of 18, and there were none younger. More than thirty-eight per cent enlisted at 25 or older. Twenty-six were 44 years old. More than half of the regiment would not have been subject to the draft under the present laws.

The ages of Iowa soldiers have not been tabulated so systematically as those of Minnesota. The facts, however, may be ascertained approximately. At an ordinary reunion it is seldom that one enrolls who is as young as seventy years or under. At the great reunion at Vicksburg in October, 1917, there were 216 soldiers on the Iowa train and their average age was seventy-six years and two months. The oldest men did not venture to make the trip. These facts tend to show that the surviving veterans who were very youthful at the time of their service are not numerous.

In the *Census of Iowa* for 1915 the ages of the 13,059 veterans then living in the State are given in groups. Of course three years must now be added to the ages given in this table. There were then living in the State five soldiers 67 years old; one hundred and forty 68 years old; and two

hundred and seventy-eight 69 years old. It is regretted that their ages at enlistment are not given. It is evident, however, that these 428 men in the first three groups were 16 years old or younger. Some of them doubtless were drummers or cooks, but many of them must have carried muskets. The group that has the largest number is the one in which the men if now living would be 73 years old. The number is 1371. The next largest group is that in which the men if now living would be 75 years old, and this group contains 1205 men. When this census was taken, there were 1453 men who had reached the eighties or beyond. There were fifty-one in the nineties. Two were ninety-nine.

In 1910 the rosters of the Iowa regiments were published, giving the age of each soldier at time of enlistment, together with other important facts. The writer has tabulated the ages of the men in several of the regiments and the results obtained are interesting. In all the regiments there are a few men whose ages are not given; and these men have not been counted.

#### SECOND IOWA INFANTRY

The Second Iowa Infantry enrolled in all 1380 men. One was enrolled at the age of 14; two at the age of 15; four at the age of 16; eleven at the age of 17. Three only were enrolled under the age of 16 and this is a very small per cent. One hundred and sixty-seven were enrolled at the age of 18—the largest number at any one age. Forty were enrolled at the age of 40 or older. One was 63 years old. Those under twenty-five numbered 961; those twenty-five and over numbered 419. These percentages are very different from those given in the so-called official record. It is interesting to note that 634 men of the regiment would not have been subject to the draft under the present law.

## FIFTH IOWA INFANTRY

In the Fifth Iowa Infantry one man was enrolled at the age of 15, and he served as a drummer. One hundred and thirty-five were enrolled at the age of 18. Thirty-four were enrolled at the age of 40 and older. One was 47 and one 48. Six hundred and ninety enrolled under the age of 25. Three hundred and forty-one enrolled at the age of 25 and older.

## THIRTEENTH IOWA INFANTRY

In this regiment four men were enrolled at 16 and four at 17 years of age. There were none under 16 years of age. Two hundred and sixty-three were enrolled at 18 years. Four hundred and eighty-three were under 21 years of age and four hundred and six were over 30 years old. Those who would not have been reached by the present draft law numbered eight hundred and eighty-nine. The number who were 25 or older numbered seven hundred and sixty-five, and these amounted to more than sixty per cent of the men in the regiment. According to the official record the percentage should have been less than two. Those 40 years old or more numbered one hundred and seven. Twenty-five were 44; two were 45; one was 48; and one was 56.

## SEVENTEENTH IOWA INFANTRY

Of the field and staff officers of this regiment two were 40 years old, two were 38, two were 37, and two were 36. The Sergeant Major was 50. The ages of the enlisted men are indicated in the following table:

AGE	NUMBER	AGE	NUMBER
14 years old.....	1	20 years old.....	80
15 years old.....	3	21 years old.....	72
17 years old.....	15	22 years old.....	64
18 years old.....	258	23 years old.....	65
19 years old.....	106	24 years old.....	38

AGE	NUMBER	AGE	NUMBER
25 years old.....	34	39 years old.....	4
26 years old.....	30	40 years old.....	14
27 years old.....	34	41 years old.....	9
28 years old.....	32	42 years old.....	12
29 years old.....	19	43 years old.....	13
30 years old.....	23	44 years old.....	19
31 years old.....	15	45 years old.....	15
32 years old.....	18	46 years old.....	2
33 years old.....	9	47 years old.....	0
34 years old.....	18	48 years old.....	2
35 years old.....	15	49 years old.....	1
36 years old.....	7	50 years old.....	1
37 years old.....	11	58 years old.....	1
38 years old.....	18		

It will be seen from this table that four hundred and sixty-three of the enlisted men were under 21, but that only nineteen of them were under 18 years of age. It will also be noted that three hundred and ninety-six were 25 years old or older, or nearly 37 per cent of the enlisted men.

#### TWENTY-FIFTH IOWA INFANTRY

In the Twenty-fifth Iowa one man enlisted at the age of 15, one at 16, and four enlisted at 17. At the age of 18 two hundred and twenty-eight men enlisted and at 19 one hundred and eighteen enlisted. Those who enlisted under 21 numbered four hundred and twenty. Those who enlisted at the age of 25 or older numbered four hundred and thirty-four. More than half of the regiment would not have been subject to the draft under the present law. Of the field and staff officers two were 40 years old, one 41, one 43, one 45, and one 54.

#### TWENTY-NINTH IOWA INFANTRY

In the Twenty-ninth Infantry two men enlisted at 15 years of age, two at 16, eleven at 17, and two hundred and

eighty at 18. Six hundred and sixty were 25 years old or older—a little more than forty-five per cent of the whole regiment. The percentage of men under 16 years of age is so small that it is negligible. Those who enlisted under 21 numbered four hundred and sixty-eight; those over 30 numbered three hundred and three; that is, in a regiment of 1452 men those who would not have been subject to present draft law numbered seven hundred and seventy-one, or more than fifty-three per cent. Sixty-nine were 40 years old or older, two being 48 and one 49.

#### THIRTIETH IOWA INFANTRY

In this regiment one hundred and thirty-seven men enlisted at 18, one at 12, one at 16, eleven at 17, sixteen at 44, one at 45, one at 46, one at 48, and one at 59. Those who enlisted while under 21 years of age numbered three hundred and thirty, and those who were over 30 numbered one hundred and ninety-eight; that is, five hundred and twenty-eight, or more than half the regiment, would not have been subject to the draft to-day. Those who were 25 years old and older numbered three hundred and ninety-nine.

#### THIRTY-FOURTH IOWA INFANTRY

The following is a complete tabulation of the ages of the men in this regiment:

AGE	NUMBER	AGE	NUMBER
17 years old.....	2	26 years old.....	34
18 years old.....	135	27 years old.....	42
19 years old.....	79	28 years old.....	35
20 years old.....	61	29 years old.....	50
21 years old.....	62	30 years old.....	48
22 years old.....	62	31 years old.....	20
23 years old.....	49	32 years old.....	31
24 years old.....	53	33 years old.....	29
25 years old.....	61	34 years old.....	26

AGE	NUMBER	AGE	NUMBER
35 years old.....	20	42 years old.....	15
36 years old.....	22	43 years old.....	14
37 years old.....	19	44 years old.....	9
38 years old.....	18	47 years old.....	1
39 years old.....	14	60 years old.....	1
40 years old.....	11	62 years old.....	1
41 years old.....	15		

This seems to have been a typical regiment. Its size was about normal and it apparently did not receive many recruits. There were two hundred and seventy-seven men under 21, and two hundred and sixty-six over 30; that is, five hundred and forty-three would not be subject to the draft to-day. The regiment numbered 1039, and of these five hundred and thirty-six were 25 years old or older—more than fifty-one per cent.

#### THIRTY-SEVENTH IOWA INFANTRY

The Thirty-seventh Iowa has a history that is a little unusual. It was enlisted for guard and garrison duty and was composed mostly of men 45 years old or older. The men were known as the "Greybeards" and they deserved the title. The regiment did guard duty in several States and also saw some real soldiering in Tennessee and Mississippi, guarding trains. The ages of the older men were as follows:

Men from 50 to 59 years old.....	428
Men sixty years old or older.....	145
Eighty years old.....	1

The men were patriotic and reliable in every way and they performed a service that was very valuable. They were too old for active service in the South and many suffered from sickness. One hundred and forty-five died from disease, three were killed, and three hundred and sixty-four were discharged for disability. The statement is made that not a man of the regiment is now living, and this is probably

true, although a very few young men were enlisted in the regiment for special duties.

#### FORTY-FOURTH IOWA INFANTRY

Iowa furnished a few regiments for the hundred day service in 1864 and the writer has tabulated the ages of the Forty-fourth Infantry. The ages run a little lower than the other regiments. In this regiment two enlisted at the age of 14 and two at 15—all four serving as musicians. Twelve enlisted at the age of 16, and twenty-seven at the age of 17. Two hundred and seventy-two men enlisted at the age of 18, which was the popular age for enlisting as indicated in all the rosters examined.

#### FIFTH IOWA CAVALRY

In this regiment one man enlisted at 15 years of age, four at 16, twenty at 17, and one hundred and ninety-four at 18. Four hundred and fifty-nine were under 21, and two hundred and ninety were over 30. There were five hundred and three men who were 25 or over. Eighty-five were 40 or over. One was 50, one 51, and one 56.

#### FIRST IOWA BATTERY

The ages of the men in this battery were as follows:

AGE	NUMBER	AGE	NUMBER
18 years old.....	52	32 years old.....	3
19 years old.....	32	33 years old.....	3
20 years old.....	13	34 years old.....	4
21 years old.....	14	35 years old.....	3
22 years old.....	15	36 years old.....	8
23 years old.....	13	37 years old.....	3
24 years old.....	16	38 years old.....	2
25 years old.....	16	39 years old.....	1
26 years old.....	15	40 years old.....	2
27 years old.....	13	41 years old.....	3
28 years old.....	8	42 years old.....	1
29 years old.....	4	43 years old.....	3
30 years old.....	1	44 years old.....	4
31 years old.....	4	45 years old.....	2

In this organization the largest number of enlistments took place at 18 years of age. Those under 25 numbered one hundred and fifty-five; those 25 and over numbered one hundred and three. The latter class formed about forty per cent of the whole number.

#### SECOND IOWA BATTERY

In this battery one man enlisted at 15, six at 17, and twenty-one at 18. One hundred and two enlisted under 25, and sixty-three at 25 or over. One enlisted at 47 and one at 48.

#### FOURTH IOWA BATTERY

In this organization fifty-five men enlisted at 18. One hundred and twenty-one enlisted under 25, and thirty-seven at 25 or over. There were none under 18.

There is every reason to believe that the ages of the men in the regiments above analyzed fairly represent the ages of the Civil War veterans. The regiments were not selected to prove either the youth or the age of the men. The purpose was to analyze representative regiments from various branches of the service, and also to select regiments recruited at various periods in the war. Indeed, there was no preconceived idea as to what the examination would reveal. One element enters into these estimates that can not be exactly determined. Some men enlisted as 18 when their ages were under that. There is no way to determine how many of these enlistments there were. The ages of the soldiers now living and the pension rolls show that the per cent must have been small.

While no attempt has been made in this investigation to determine the average age of all the soldiers from Iowa, the ages of the men in two regiments were averaged. The

average age of the men of the Twenty-ninth Iowa Infantry was a little more than twenty-five and one-third years. The average age of the men in the Second Iowa Cavalry was almost twenty-four and a half years. If there had been about a quarter of a million boys sixteen years of age or younger in the ranks, the average would have been much lower than the figures just given.

A careful study of the ages of the soldiers given in the rosters examined must lead to these conclusions: (1) there were not so many soldiers under 16 as is indicated in those erroneous figures still going the rounds of the press; (2) there were many more soldiers 25 years old and older than the so-called "official records" indicate, since these records make the number at 25 and older as less than two per cent, while thirty or forty per cent would be nearer the truth; (3) more men enlisted at 18 than at any other age; (4) a goodly number entered the service at 17, but comparatively the aggregate was not large; and (5) some men entered at ages from 10 to 16, but the per cent was very small; and some of the men in this class were drummers, orderlies, cooks, and engaged in other detached service, although there were others very young who served in the ranks, carried muskets, and did their part on the battle front. Among these youthful soldiers it is fitting to name Dr. William M. Beardshear who was so well and so favorably known in Iowa. He entered the service at the age of fourteen and did the work of a man.

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## THE INFLUENCE OF WHEAT AND COTTON ON ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS DURING THE CIVIL WAR<sup>1</sup>

[The following paper by Professor Schmidt was read before the American Historical Association in Philadelphia on December 27, 1917. Professor Schmidt is preparing a comprehensive history of agriculture in Iowa for future publication by The State Historical Society of Iowa.—EDITOR]

John Stuart Mill once wrote, in recording his impressions of the attitude of England toward the North and the South during the Civil War, that "the inattention habitual with Englishmen to whatever is going on in the world outside their own island, made them profoundly ignorant of all the antecedents of the struggle."<sup>2</sup> This criticism might have been applied with equal fairness to the American people on the eve of the present great world war. Separated from the affairs of Europe, they had developed a provincialism in their outlook and habits of thinking which tended to make them oblivious to the age-long rivalries and ambitions of the Nations of the old world. Favored by geography and by the delicate balance of power in Europe which had prevented interference in the affairs of the western hemisphere, they had come to dwell with complacency on the superiority of American institutions and on the destiny of the republic, when suddenly they were bewildered by the great world cataclysm with whose origin they were

<sup>1</sup> For a brief discussion of the importance of agriculture in American history, see the writer's paper on *The Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. III, pp. 39-49.

<sup>2</sup> Mill's *Autobiography*, p. 269.

only vaguely familiar and the ultimate purposes of which they little understood.

Students and writers of American history reflecting the attitude of the people have similarly shown an inclination to take a rather narrow and provincial view of our national past and thus to neglect a consideration of the external forces which have conditioned our development. Foreign affairs have therefore not received their proportionate share of emphasis in the study of American history. Such treatment as has been accorded to our foreign relations has tended rather to accentuate the more dramatic episodes of polities and diplomacy, and to neglect, if not to ignore, economic and commercial forces which have played a very significant rôle in international affairs.

The recent entrance of the United States into the great world struggle for the preservation of democratic institutions marks a definite departure from our time-honored policy of isolation. Furthermore, it brings home to the historian the imperative need of heeding the warning of the late Rear-Admiral Mahan, who wrote nearly twenty years ago, just as this Nation crossed the threshold to world empire, that it is time for us to abandon our provincial attitude and to take the larger or the long view of the forces which have shaped our national destiny.<sup>3</sup> Our new position as a world power of the first rank requires a better understanding of these forces in order that a broad and farsighted statesmanship may be brought to bear on the formulation of the Nation's foreign policies in the future.

<sup>3</sup> Mahan's *The Problem of Asia* in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 100, March, 1900, pp. 536-547. This paper is reprinted in Chapter I of his book on *The Problem of Asia*, published in 1900. It is not without significance that the writings of this foremost authority on the influences of sea power in history have been much more widely read in England and Japan and on the continent of Europe than in this country.

In directing attention to the study of the history of the foreign relations of the United States, considerable emphasis should be accorded to economic forces which in the past have had a profound influence on international politics and diplomacy, and which are to-day recognized as potent forces in the world war.

It is the aim of this paper to emphasize the fundamental significance of wheat and cotton in the study of Anglo-American relations during one of the most critical periods of our history: the period of the Civil War.<sup>4</sup> In essaying this task it is proposed: first, to determine the extent to which Great Britain was economically dependent on the American supply of these two staple commodities while the North and South were engaged in civil conflict; and, second, to inquire how far this double dependence on America was recognized when intervention in behalf of the Confederacy was most seriously threatened. It will then be possible to estimate the relative influence of these factors in deter-

<sup>4</sup> For a general review of Anglo-American relations during the Civil War see the following accounts: Foster's *Century of American Diplomacy*, Ch. X; Fish's *American Diplomacy*, Ch. XXII; Johnson's *America's Foreign Relations*, Vol. III, Chs. XXI, XXII; Callahan's *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*; Callahan's *Diplomatic Relations of the Confederate States with England, 1861-1865*, in the *Annual Report of American Historical Association*, 1898, pp. 267-283; Davis's *Confederate Government*, Vol. II, pp. 245-284, 367-381; Dunning's *The British Empire and the United States*, Ch. V; Hosmer's *Appeal to Arms (The American Nation*, Vol. XX), Ch. XX; Hosmer's *Outcome of the Civil War (The American Nation*, Vol. XXI), Ch. X; Rhodes's *History of the United States, 1850-1877*, Vol. III, pp. 415-434, 503-543, Vol. IV, pp. 76-95, 337-394; Schouler's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 111-130, 261-274, 424-436; Morse's *Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, Ch. XII; Lathrop's *William H. Seward*, Chs. XVI-XX; Storey's *Charles Sumner*, Chs. XIII-XV; Adams's *Charles Francis Adams*, Chs. IX-XVIII; Baker's *The Works of William H. Seward* (New Edition), Vol. V. The last named volume contains a diplomatic history of the war for the Union.

mining Great Britain's official attitude toward the Union and Confederate governments.<sup>5</sup>

The Confederacy was dependent upon the outside world for many of its necessities. The first problem of the Union government therefore was to cut off the commerce of the South and then exhaustion of the Confederacy would be only a matter of time; whereas, with commerce open, the war would continue indefinitely, with strong chances that the Confederacy would ultimately be victorious. The maintenance of the blockade proclaimed by President Lincoln on April 19, 1861, depended first upon the efficiency of our navy; and second, upon the neutrality of foreign nations. The policy of the Confederacy, on the other hand, was to break the blockade: first, by the use of privateering vessels; and, second, by the aid of European intervention.

<sup>5</sup> That sympathy for the Confederacy was the prevailing sentiment among all classes of people in England, except the laboring classes and a part of the middle class, history has already clearly shown. The influences operating to set the current of opinion against the Union government during the first year of the war were as follows:

(1) The privileged classes, that is, the nobility and the landed gentry, feared the rapid development of the American republic. They regarded its growing power and influence with ill-disguised disfavor and pronounced it a standing menace. Their sympathies, on the other hand, were with the slaveholding aristocracy, with whom they had a sentiment of fellowship. They looked upon the breaking up of the Union with pleasant anticipations. Moreover, the opinions of these classes were reflected in the minds of many who came into social relations with them.

(2) The manufacturing classes, dependent as they were on the South for the great bulk of the cotton supply, argued that the policy of free trade upon which Great Britain had entered would be best subserved by the triumph of the South. The Morrill tariff act of 1861, though designed for revenue rather than for protection, further convinced them of a purpose on the part of the Federal government to restrict British importations into the United States. Furthermore, the North possessed a merchant marine second only to that of Great Britain. The continuance of the war therefore met with the approval of the commercial classes, so long as it had the effect of driving American commerce from the seas and placing it under the control of England. English capital was consequently almost a unit against the Union cause.

(3) The real nature and purpose of the struggle was not appreciated.

To accomplish the latter object the South possessed, as it believed, an effective economic weapon: namely, the cotton monopoly which, together with the promise of free trade, would enable it to secure Great Britain's interference in its behalf. The Confederacy, therefore, immediately endeavored to make effective use of this weapon, by prohibiting the exportation, and indeed ordering the destruction of, cotton in order that it might bring pressure upon the industrial classes and through them upon the governments of Europe. Moreover, while attempting to secure foreign intervention, the Confederacy endeavored also, in violation of the neutrality laws of foreign countries to purchase fully equipped iron-clad ships abroad for the

Some people regarded the war as a contest for State rights, and therefore justified by the Revolution. Others believed the Southern people would be able to establish their independence. The federal form of government was regarded as ill-adapted to such a strain, and the national resources of the Northern States were unappreciated until after 1863. There was therefore a widespread belief which at times became almost universal, that the federal union was doomed to failure. Liberals looked upon the war as a struggle for the perpetuation of slavery, basing their arguments on the declaration of the Federal government at the beginning of the war, as announced by President Lincoln, Secretary Seward, and Congress, that the contest was a struggle for the preservation of the Union and not for the abolition of, or interference with, slavery in the Southern States. While indeed there were some influential leaders like John Bright who anticipated emancipation as an inevitable consequence of the war, this was the exceptional belief rather than the prevailing view.

(4) There were also certain undercurrents of opinion which were set in motion against the North. Among them may be mentioned the feeling that the Federal government had been lacking in due respect for other Nations as was illustrated by the invasion of Mexico and by the Ostend Manifesto, although the fact remained that this criticism was levelled at pro-slavery administrations. Then again, large numbers of our people had participated in the English-Irish controversy, often with an official, or semi-official sanction. The American spirit, moreover, was held to be presumptuous and boastful and this did not sit well on English nerves. Mention, too, should be made of leading journals, particularly *The Times*, which had a potent influence against the Union. And in the field of literature, Carlyle, Grote, and Dickens, took up the pen in defense of the Confederacy.

These various influences were rapidly set in motion, culminating at the time

destruction of Northern commerce. Inasmuch as Great Britain was the great cotton importing and manufacturing Nation of the world and the course of other Nations would be largely determined by Great Britain's official attitude, attention should be given primarily to the attitude of England toward the two belligerents. Great Britain's relation to the cotton kingdom will be first considered.

of the Trent affair in a great explosion of feeling and the beginning of war-like preparations against the United States. John Stuart Mill wrote: "I contemplated the rush of nearly the whole upper and middle classes of my own country, even those who passed for Liberals, into a furious pro-Southern partisanship; the working classes, and some of the literary and scientific men, being almost the sole exceptions to the general frenzy." Mr. Mill explained that there was such profound ignorance of the antecedents of the struggle that it was not generally believed in England, for the first year or two of the war, that the quarrel was one concerning slavery. "There were men of high principle and unquestionable liberality of opinion who thought it a dispute about tariffs, or assimilated it to the cases in which they were accustomed to sympathize, of a people struggling for independence. It was my obvious duty," said Mill, "to be one of the small minority who protested against this perverted state of public opinion"—Mill's *Autobiography*, pp. 268, 269.

The influences working in favor of the North were at first negligible. The laboring classes and a considerable portion of the middle class were friends of the Union, but they were without any appreciable influence in the government. Represented in Parliament by John Bright, Richard Cobden, and William E. Forster, and in the field of literature by John Stuart Mill, Thomas Hughes, Goldwin Smith, and Tennyson, their voices at last came to be heard. Confused at first as to the real issue of the conflict, they soon came to look upon it as a struggle of democracy and free labor as opposed to class privileges. In the meantime economic forces, Northern wheat and Southern cotton, struggled for the mastery in the field of politics and diplomacy.

This analysis of English opinion on the American Civil War is based on the following accounts: Rhodes's *History of the United States, 1850-1877*, Vol. III, pp. 503-520; Pierce's *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Vol. IV, pp. 151-159; Goldwin Smith's *England and America in the Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 14, pp. 749-769; Goldwin Smith's *England and the War of Secession* in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 89, pp. 303-311. *The Economist* (London) and *The Times* (London) have also been freely used to determine the English temper toward the Union and the Confederacy. See especially *The Economist*, Vol. XIX, No. 944, September 28, 1861, pp. 1065-1067, for an editorial on "English Feeling toward America", and Vol. XXI, No. 1053, October 31, 1863, pp. 1209-1210, for an editorial on "English Opinion as Distinguished from English Action on American Questions". While *The Times* was ex-

## INFLUENCE OF COTTON ON ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The rapid growth of cotton manufacturing in Great Britain is one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of industry.<sup>6</sup> Introduced into England in the early part of the seventeenth century, this industry was still in its infancy when the American colonies established their independence. The industrial revolution marks the sudden rise of cotton to first place in the manufacturing of textiles, thus superseding wool which had ruled British industry since the Middle Ages. Cotton production was stimulated throughout the world, particularly in the United States, and British imports rose rapidly from an annual average of nearly 7,000,000 pounds for the years from 1776 to 1785 to 56,000,000 in 1800, and 152,000,000 pounds in 1820. By 1841 cotton imports had increased to 488,000,000 pounds and in 1861 the high figure of 1,391,000,000 was reached.<sup>7</sup> The cotton manufacture of Great Britain quickly rose to such importance that by 1846 the British government, by its formal adoption of the policy of free trade, recognized the cotton industry as the principal business of the country. J. R. McCulloch wrote in 1850 that the industry offered "an advantageous field for the accumulation and employment of millions upon millions of capital, and of thousands

tremely hostile to the Union, *The Economist* took a more judicial attitude, though it freely predicted the ultimate establishment of the Confederacy. It became the policy of the journal to counsel peaceful mediation in order that the war might be speedily brought to a close, but it vigorously opposed forcible intervention which would mean war with the North. For a statement of the attitude of other journals see footnotes in Rhodes's *History of the United States, 1850-1877*, Vol. III, pp. 503-520.

<sup>6</sup> For a brief sketch of the cotton manufacture of Great Britain, see *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition), Vol. VII, pp. 281-291. For a longer account of the earlier history of this industry see Baines's *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*; McCulloch's *Commercial Dictionary* (New Edition, 1850), pp. 450-466.

<sup>7</sup> McCulloch's *Commercial Dictionary* (New Edition, 1850), p. 453; Buxton's *Finance and Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 275-277.

upon thousands of workmen! The skill and genius by which these astonishing results have been achieved, have been one of the main sources of our power: they have contributed in no common degree to raise the British nation to the high and conspicuous place she now occupies.”<sup>8</sup> This able authority estimated that 542,000 people were directly employed in the different departments of the manufacture of cotton. If to these are added the workers engaged in the construction and repair of machinery and buildings required to carry it on, the cotton industry furnished subsistence for 1,000,000 to 1,200,000 persons, not counting old and infirm persons and children who were dependent on those directly employed.<sup>9</sup>

The following decade witnessed the most marvelous growth of the cotton industry. The extension of the cotton plantations of the South, improvements in transportation and shipping, the accumulation of capital, the concentration of population in the great industrial centers of England, and the development of the market for cotton textiles: all combined to stimulate the manufacture of cotton textiles and to accentuate Great Britain’s economic dependence on this industry. In 1860 Great Britain had 2650 cotton factories containing over 30,000,000 spindles and 350,000 looms run by 300,000 horse power.<sup>10</sup> “The cotton manufacture”, according to *The Economist*, “from the first manipulation of the raw material to the last finish bestowed upon it constitutes the employment and furnishes the sustenance of the

<sup>8</sup> McCulloch’s *Commercial Dictionary* (New Edition, 1850), p. 451.

<sup>9</sup> McCulloch’s *Commercial Dictionary* (New Edition, 1850), pp. 457–458.

<sup>10</sup> Hammond’s *The Cotton Industry* in the *Publications of the American Economic Association* (New Series), Part I, 1897, p. 252. Professor Leon Levi in a paper read before the Statistical Society of London in 1864 stated that Great Britain had more than twice as many spindles as France, Russia, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, and Spain, which collectively contained only 12,100,000 spindles.

largest portion of the population of Lancashire, North Cheshire, and Lanarkshire, of a considerable number of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire and of scattered industries in several other parts of England, Ireland and Scotland.” Using McCulloch’s estimate of 1850 as a basis, this journal concluded that “if we take into account the subsidiary trades and occupations, coal mines, machine workers &c and add all the unemployed families of the workmen”, it was safe to conclude that nearly 4,000,000 persons were dependent for their daily bread upon the cotton industry.<sup>11</sup>

The bearing of these facts on the study of Anglo-American relations during the Civil War can readily be understood when we come to consider the extent to which Great Britain drew her cotton supply from the United States. During the four-year period, 1857–1860, inclusive, the British consumption of cotton amounted to 9,062,700 bales, of which 7,140,000 bales, or 78.8 per cent, came from the United States.<sup>12</sup> During the year 1860, which was a normal year, imports totaled 3,365,700 bales, of which 2,580,700 bales, or 76.6 per cent, were imported from the United States.<sup>13</sup> The remainder, or 785,000 bales, came from other countries: the East Indies furnishing 16 per cent, and Egypt, Brazil, and the West Indies supplying in the main the other 7 per cent. It will therefore be seen that Great Britain’s supply was drawn almost entirely from America and that a vast population was dependent for a living on the cotton industry. These are the facts which explain

<sup>11</sup> Editorial on “The Disruption of the Union as it would Affect England” in *The Economist* (London), Vol. XIX, No. 908, January 19, 1861, pp. 57–59.

<sup>12</sup> *The Economist* (London), Vol. XIX, No. 908, January 19, 1861, pp. 57, 58.

<sup>13</sup> Hammond’s *The Cotton Industry* in the *Publications of the American Economic Association* (New Series), Part I, 1897, p. 261.

why the South attached so much importance to the cotton monopoly.<sup>14</sup> It was firmly believed that Great Britain was so wholly dependent on American cotton that in the event of a war between the North and the South, England would interfere in behalf of the latter to keep open her source of supply; and that intervention would in turn precipitate a conflict between Great Britain and the United States which would insure the triumph of the Confederacy.

The establishment of an effective blockade of the Southern ports by the Union navy suddenly threatened the English manufacturers with a cotton famine.<sup>15</sup> Importations

<sup>14</sup> For an excellent statement of the absolute reliance which the South placed on the cotton monopoly, see the historic speech of Senator James H. Hammond of South Carolina on March 4, 1858, quoted at length in Scherer's *Cotton as a World Power*, pp. 235-242. See also Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. II, pp. 548-550, for excerpts from this speech. Hammond declared that no Nation dared to make war on cotton. "Without firing a gun, without drawing a sword," he said, "should they make war on us we could bring the whole world to our feet. . . . what would happen if no cotton were furnished for three years? . . . England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South. No, you do not dare to make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is King". To Francis Lieber, Senator Hammond wrote on April 19, 1860: "I firmly believe that the slave-holding power of the South is now the controlling power of the world—that no other power would face us in hostility. Cotton, rice, tobacco, and naval stores command the world; and we have sense to know it, and are sufficiently Teutonic to carry it out successfully. The North without us would be a motherless calf, bleating about and die of mange and starvation."—Quoted by Rhodes in his *History of the United States, 1850-1877*, Vol. II, p. 440, from *Life and Letters of Francis Lieber*, p. 310.

"Had it not been for the reliance which the architects of the Great Rebellion placed on cotton as a means of obtaining revenue, it is doubtful if the war would have been undertaken."—Hammond's *The Cotton Industry* in the *Publications of the American Economic Association* (New Series), Part I, 1897, p. 257.

<sup>15</sup> For a consideration of the effects of the cotton famine see Arnold's *History of the Cotton Famine*; Adams's *Charles Francis Adams*, Ch. XIV; Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, Vol. I, pp. 439-441; Scherer's *Cotton as a World Power*, Ch. 56; Buxton's *Finance and Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 277-280.

from America declined from 2,580,700 bales in 1860 to 1,841,600 bales in 1861, and to only 72,000 bales in 1862,<sup>16</sup> in which year the cotton famine reached its height, though it continued well into the year 1863. The average Liverpool price for middling uplands cotton increased from 5.97 pence per pound in 1860 to 18.37 pence in 1862, and finally reached 27.17 pence in 1864.<sup>17</sup> Mills were stopped, cotton operatives were thrown out of employment, and 500,000 people were dependent upon public charity.<sup>18</sup> Relief contributions poured in from India, Canada, Australia, and also from New York City; while the sum of \$12,000,000 was distributed among the distressed.<sup>19</sup>

It was in the midst of the cotton famine that there appeared to be real danger of intervention. The hope that the war would be of short duration was dispelled, and the manufacturing and commercial classes clamored for recognition of the Confederacy in order that the struggle might speedily be brought to a close. Lord Palmerston (Prime Minister) and Earl Russell (Minister of Foreign Affairs) seriously considered recognition. Parliament took up the cotton situation and debated the feasibility of recognizing the independence of the Confederacy.<sup>20</sup> Recognition im-

<sup>16</sup> Hammond's *The Cotton Industry* in the *Publications of the American Economic Association* (New Series), Part I, 1897, p. 261.

<sup>17</sup> Hammond's *The Cotton Industry* in the *Publications of the American Economic Association* (New Series), Part I, 1897, Appendix I, devoted to "Statistics of the Cotton Production and Trade of the United States from 1784 to 1897."

<sup>18</sup> "A relief fund was established and the number of persons relieved, which in June 1862 was 129,774, in December, 1862 was 485,434. The number continued nearly as high till April, 1863, when it was 362,076."—Levi's *History of British Commerce* (Second Edition, 1880), p. 446, note 5.

<sup>19</sup> Adams's *Charles Francis Adams*, pp. 276, 277.

<sup>20</sup> The parliamentary debates on the recognition of the independence of the Confederacy are reported in Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 168, July 18, 1862, pp. 511-578 (House of Commons); Vol. 169, March

plied intervention and the breaking of the blockade, which would release American cotton for shipment to England,<sup>21</sup> and thus relieve the distressed mill owners and operatives and bring about a general mercantile trade revival.

Lord Campbell argued in the House of Commons that recognition would be of interest to the cotton manufacturers. He stated that it had been reported to him by credible authorities that the Southern planters had during the previous year begun to grow cotton in anticipation of recognition and that they had plowed it under when their hopes expired. He contended, therefore, that the first and most important reason for acknowledging the independence of the Confederacy was the Lancashire distress, which would experience no relief until cotton rose in abundance and fell in price; and that result, he said, could hardly be expected to occur until the end of the war. In reply to the argument that the deficiency should be supplied by encouraging the production of India cotton, Lord Campbell declared that "no man, conversant with political economy,

23, 1863, pp. 1714-1741 (House of Lords); Vol. 171, June 30, 1863, pp. 1771-1841 (House of Commons); Vol. 172, July 13, 1863, pp. 661-673 (House of Commons). The Iowa State Law Library (located in the State Capitol in Des Moines) is one of a very few libraries in this country which is fortunate enough to possess a complete set of these debates. The writer is indebted to Mr. A. J. Small, Law Librarian, for courtesies which have facilitated the preparation of this paper.

<sup>21</sup> There were no reliable crop statistics for the South during the war, but the estimates of the period show that a considerable amount of cotton had accumulated during the years 1861 and 1862. The British consul at Charleston estimated in August, 1862, that there were 2,500,000 bales of cotton then on hand in the South, and that the crop of 1862 would probably total 1,500,000 bales. Of this amount but 50,000 bales successfully ran the blockade, thus leaving, according to this estimate, 3,950,000 bales available for distribution.

— *The Economist* (London), Vol. XX, No. 1001, November 1, 1862, p. 1207. *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle* placed the estimates of cotton production during the war much higher. See Hammond's *The Cotton Industry* in the *Publications of the American Economic Association* (New Series), Part I, 1897, p. 259.

supposes that cotton crops will start into existence in other portions of the world while an avalanche of 4,000,000 bales impends upon the market from America.”<sup>22</sup>

The Marquess of Clanricarde attacked the legitimacy of the Federal blockade of the Southern ports,<sup>23</sup> basing his argument on the Declaration of Paris,<sup>24</sup> which declared that blockades to be legal must be effective. He read a letter from a merchant of Manchester stating that the American blockade had been run by four ships, which in less than four months had made seventeen successful journeys carrying in 120,000 pounds sterling worth of British goods and taking out 200,000 pounds sterling worth of cotton. One steamer alone, it was reported, had run through the Charleston blockade with a cargo of 1750 bales of cotton and 500 barrels of rosin.<sup>25</sup> Mr. Russell dismissed this argument by reminding the Marquess that the United States had not ratified the Declaration of Paris, and that under

<sup>22</sup> Hansard’s *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 169, March 23, 1863, pp. 1716, 1728.

<sup>23</sup> For a report of the debate in the House of Commons on the blockade of the Southern ports, see Hansard’s *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 165, March 7, 1862, pp. 1158–1230, 1233–1243.

<sup>24</sup> The Declaration of Paris was signed on April 16, 1856, by all the powers represented at the Congress: England, France, Austria, Russia, Sardinia, Turkey, and Prussia. It provided that: (a) privateering is and remains abolished; (b) the neutral flag covers enemy’s goods, with the exception of contraband of war; (c) neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy’s flag; and (d) blockades, in order to be binding must be effective; that is to say, maintained by forces sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy. The countries not represented at the Congress were invited to sign, and most of them did so before the end of the year; but the United States held out, basing her objection upon the idea that, inasmuch as we did not possess a large navy, the right to fit out privateers should be retained until the capture of private enemy property at sea was abolished. See Hershey’s *Essentials of International Public Law*, pp. 73, 74, note 49; and Moore’s *International Law Digest*, pp. 561–583.

<sup>25</sup> Hansard’s *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 171, June 15, 1863, pp. 874–880.

similar circumstances England had blockaded "the whole coast of France, from Brest to Dunkirk; and when we were at war with America, we proclaimed a blockade of not less than 2000 miles of coast; and if we ourselves held legitimate a blockade of 2000 miles of coast, we should still . . . if we were at war with the United States hold that such a blockade was a legitimate one." Mr. Russell urged further that before taking any action it would be better to await developments in America.<sup>26</sup>

The Parliamentary debate on the question of interference in the American struggle entered its final stage on June 30, 1863, when Mr. Roebuck introduced his resolution calling for the recognition of the independence of the Confederacy. In defense of this resolution, Mr. Roebuck argued: first, that a large portion of the population were "suffering in consequence of the cotton famine;" second, that the time had come for the recognition of the Confederacy because it had "vindicated the right to be recognized"; and third, that the Southern people were by the continuance of the war being driven to become a manufacturing nation, producing their own woollen, cotton, and iron manufactures, which would foster a protective system and thus destroy the market for British goods. On the other hand, intervention would be reciprocated by free trade and the British market would be retained. "The cry about slavery", he continued, "is hypocrisy and cant. We shall do no harm to the black man if we adopt my Resolution."<sup>27</sup>

But recognition of the Confederacy was complicated by other questions. Russell defined the position of the government on the American question by explaining that England

<sup>26</sup> Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 171, June 15, 1863, pp. 883, 884.

<sup>27</sup> Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 171, June 30, 1863, pp. 1776, 1780.

had never taken part in interventions, except "in behalf of the independence, freedom, and welfare of the great portion of mankind"; that no interests deeply as they might affect England would induce the government to interfere, except "in the cause of liberty and to promote the freedom of mankind"; that England as the champion of free institutions could not afford to take any step which would involve the recognition and perpetuation of the institution of slavery; and that so far as he was concerned he hoped "with regard to this Civil War in America" that the government might be able to continue an "impartial and neutral course".<sup>28</sup>

Again, recognition of the Confederacy would constitute a plain violation of international law. This view of the question was well stated as follows by *The Economist* on July 4th, when the Roebuck Resolution was before the House of Commons:

Two conditions, and two only, are necessary for a just recognition:—first, that the future existence—not only the present monetary life, but the indefinite future continuance of the new State—should be really and truly certain; next, that the recognising State has no sinister by-thought that warps its judgment. A recognition from partiality to the insurgents—a premature recognition while the existence of the seceding State is as yet insecure and unreliable—is a good *casus belli* to the residuary State against the recognising State.<sup>29</sup>

*The Economist* went on to show that neither of the two conditions was applicable to the American question,<sup>30</sup> and

<sup>28</sup> Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 169, March 23, 1863, pp. 1740, 1741.

<sup>29</sup> Editorial on "The Common Sense of International Law" with special reference to the question of "Recognition"—*The Economist* (London), Vol. XXI, No. 1036, July 4, 1863, p. 732.

<sup>30</sup> "Now, if such be the law regulating recognition, the application of it to the case of the Confederate States is very clear. You have only to hear the

that recognition would therefore constitute a just cause of war on the part of the North against England. The writer further expressed his views as follows:

As neutrals, we cannot recognise the Confederacy while it only *may* be independent, while its independence is only one event in a host of probabilities, while it is only in Paley's celebrated phrase, "one guess among many": if we do so, we help it to become independent; we make that particular solution of events more likely than it was before. As neutrals, we can only recognize a new State when it *must* be independent, for then we can neither aid the acquisition of that independence or prevent it.

Even if England did recognize the independence of the Confederacy it was "very dubious whether the effect of recognition would not be to prolong the war which it is sought to terminate. The most natural termination would be caused by the decline of the warlike spirit in the North, and the intervention of England would more than anything else excite and fan this spirit just when all other events and the evident diminution in the probability of success ought to weaken it."

"Mere recognition", continued the writer, "would, therefore, when the subject is examined, be a breach of international law, without even the base merit of a corresponding advantage. It would not relieve our manufacturing districts. If we chose to intervene by war, to break the blockade, to create the 'South' as we created Belgium and as we created Greece, we should at least gain much. But

pleadings of the advocates for it, of Mr. Roebuck or Mr. Spence. They say recognition will put an end to the civil war, and the cessation of the war is a plain good to England. This is only saying in other words 'we will aid the insurgent States against their old Government: the two parties being at present fighting with some approach to equality, we will interfere so as to destroy that equality: the present undecidedness of the struggle is to be our reason for stepping in to decide it, and there cannot be, according to the principles laid down, a worse reason: it is the exact reason why we should not step in.'

— *The Economist* (London), Vol. XXI, No. 1036, July 4, 1863, p. 732.

the objections to this course are so many and so obvious that no one even proposes it."<sup>31</sup>

But the recognition of the Confederacy was urged to be impracticable, not only because it would in all probability precipitate a conflict with the North, but also because there were more feasible methods for temporarily relieving the cotton situation until the American supply should become available. As early as January, 1861, *The Economist* called attention to the disastrous effects which civil war in America would have on the cotton manufacture and trade of Great Britain, but predicted that these effects would be reduced by degrees in various ways. In the first place, a great stimulus would be given to the already awakened activity of British merchants in procuring supplies of raw material from regions that were only then just beginning to be thought of, but from whence under sufficient pressure considerable quantities might within a reasonably short time be procured. India, Egypt, Brazil, Australia, the West Coast of Africa, and Asia Minor would be able to supply a considerable portion of the deficiency caused by the cutting off of American cotton. In ordinary times India alone supplied a considerable amount, as was shown by the cotton receipts of 1857, when this region sent 680,000 bales to England, other districts sending 255,000 bales. Under extraordinary pressure and inducements, India, Egypt, Brazil, and other regions would be able to supply a third more than in 1857, or about 1,200,000 bales, which would be equal to one-half of the total consumption (after deducting exports) in 1860.

In the second place, a considerable economy would at once be effected under the influence of the high rate of prices by a general tendency of manufacturers toward the

<sup>31</sup> *The Economist* (London), Vol. XXI, No. 1036, July 4, 1863, p. 732.

production of the finer fabrics. This possibility was discussed as follows:

Manufacturers who now use weekly 100 bales, could easily by turning to finer fabrics reduce their consumption to 70 or 75 bales. . . . “Domestics” as they are called, or strong cotton cloths and shirtings, and coarse yarns would be discouraged; and, as their price approached more nearly to that of linen and woollen fabrics, would be to a considerable extent superseded by them. This would cause an increase in the production of these latter articles, and a consequent increased demand for work-people; and by this process a considerable number of the hands thrown out of work in the cotton trade would be absorbed and the suffering to the operatives, though not the loss to the masters, would be greatly mitigated.<sup>32</sup>

These two measures for industrial relief received serious consideration as the cotton famine became more acute and the hope for an early termination of the war was abandoned. It was urged at considerable length that special encouragement should be given to the production of India cotton.<sup>33</sup> But India cotton, known by its trade name as “Surat”, was of an inferior quality as compared with the American product, while the cost of production, including transportation from the interior, was considerably higher.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *The Economist* (London), Vol. XIX, No. 908, January 19, 1861, pp. 57-59.

<sup>33</sup> For an extended inquiry into the problem of increasing the supply of India cotton, see Hansard’s *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 167, June 19, 1862, pp. 754-793; Vol. 168, August 1, 1862, pp. 1063-1077; Vol. 172, July 3, 1863, pp. 178-237. See also *The Economist* (London), Vol. XX, No. 961, January 25, 1862, pp. 85, 86, for an excellent article on “India versus American cotton: the real State of the Case”.

<sup>34</sup> “The fibre of the Orleans cotton is much longer, more even, and more silky than that of Surat. It is usually also much cleaner. So much of the Surat cotton falls down as dirt, or flies off as dust and flock, in the process of working it into yarn, that a pound of it *makes much less yarn or cloth*, than a pound of Orleans. Being shorter in fibre, also, it requires more twisting to give it the required strength, and therefore cannot be made into yarn so fast. From these two causes, its value to the manipulator is never more than *two-thirds* that of an equal weight of its American rival,— and *never can be more*

It could not, therefore, compete with the southern staple. While India might be encouraged to supply the deficiency caused by the Southern blockade, English capitalists naturally hesitated to make heavy investments in India cotton fields; and manufacturers were reluctant to institute expensive changes in machinery for the utilization of the eastern staple. They realized the fact that upon the termination of the war American cotton would in all probability regain its former position of supremacy in the British markets, and thus great financial losses would be incurred by investors in the India product.<sup>35</sup>

The growing industrial distress, nevertheless, served as a stimulus for the gradual establishment of new and extended sources of supply. India in particular began to respond to England's imperative needs and to the correspondingly higher prices for cotton. Table I shows that while cotton imports from America declined, the imports from other countries rose rapidly from 785,000 bales to 1,445,000 bales

whatever improvements and adaptations of machinery may be introduced, so long as its quality and character remain unaltered,—for not only is its quality inferior, but its character is peculiar.—The plain simple, conclusive truth is that the American cotton *has more in it than the Indian*''.—*The Economist* (London), Vol. XX, No. 961, January 25, 1862, pp. 85, 86.

<sup>35</sup> "Let us, therefore, look to India for all the cotton it can spare us; let us urge the natives to improve the quality and condition of their product,—for that is always worth their while; let us press forward as much as possible the improvement of their rivers and their roads,—for these things will tell upon all articles as well as on cotton; let us purchase, at whatever price we can afford to pay, this indispensable material from Egypt, from Brazil, from Australia, from Jamaica, and from the Gold Coast;—but do not let us waste means in fostering or forcing artificial industries, and do not let us delude ourselves into the belief that as long as America sends us cotton at all it will not supply us cheaper and better than any other country,—*for it would not be true.*''—*The Economist* (London), Vol. XX, No. 96, January 25, 1862, p. 86.

TABLE I

BRITISH COTTON IMPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND  
OTHER COUNTRIES<sup>36</sup>

YEAR	FROM UNITED STATES	FROM OTHER COUNTRIES
	BALES	BALES
1860	2,580,700	785,000
1861	1,841,600	1,194,000
1862	72,000	1,445,000
1863	132,000	1,932,000
1864	198,000	2,587,000
1865	462,000	2,755,000

in 1862 and 1,932,000 bales in 1863, finally reaching the high figure of 2,587,000 bales in 1864, which equalled the imports from the United States, or four-fifths of the total imports from all countries, in 1860. In the meantime, the industrial situation was further relieved by extension of the linen and woollen industries.<sup>37</sup> Thus, while industrial distress still

<sup>36</sup> Hammond's *The Cotton Industry* in the *Publications of the American Economic Association* (New Series), Part I, 1897, p. 261.

“Mr. Henry Ashworth, speaking at the annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 30th January 1865, said: ‘The quantity of cotton consumed in 1860 was valued at £34,000,000. Last year (1864) for a quantity probably not exceeding one-half what we received in 1860, we had to pay, in round number, £80,000,000. In 1860 our consumption was one billion eighty-three million pounds. In 1864 it was five hundred and sixty-one million pounds, or about fifty-one per cent. of the former year. But the inferiority of the material required much more labour; hence the fifty-one per cent. of cotton consumed required from sixty to seventy per cent. of the hands to work it up. In 1860 American cotton furnished five days’ labour out of six in every week; in 1864, it did not furnish enough for half a day per week. In 1860 we paid for Indian cotton £3,500,000 and in 1864 nearly £40,000,000. The quantity had increased two and a half times (from two hundred and fourteen million pounds to five hundred and thirteen million pounds), and the price had increased ten or eleven times.’”—Quoted from Watts's *Facts of the Cotton Famine* in Adams's *Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity*, p. 123.

<sup>37</sup> This is shown by a comparison of exports of linen and woollen piece goods during the seven years preceding the cotton famine (1855–1861) with the seven years which include this period. Exports of linen goods increased from an annual average of 131,238,504 yards for the years 1855–1861, to 210,304,491 yards for the years 1862–1868: an increase of 79,065,987 yards

continued, business conditions improved materially, the number of people dependent upon public charity decreased,<sup>38</sup> and the economic necessity for interference in the American struggle was felt to be less acute. At the same time, the destruction of American shipping gave Great Britain's merchants a monopoly of the trade which was rapidly developing in spite of the cutting off of the Confederacy by the Union blockade.

Finally, mention should be made of John Bright and Richard Cobden, who continually kept before the people the fact that their economic well-being, as well as the cause of democracy, would be promoted by the triumph of the North. These two popular leaders addressed the masses in great gatherings on the cotton situation, and reminded them that the cotton supply of the South would be much better secured by free labor than by slave labor. Said Mr. Bright, in June, 1863:

I maintain, that with a supply of cotton mainly derived from the Southern States, and mainly raised by slave labor, two things are indisputable: First, that the supply must always be insufficient; and Second, that it must always be insecure.—I maintain and I believe my opinion will be supported by all those men who are most conversant with American affairs—that with slavery abolished, with freedom firmly established in the South, you would find in ten years to come a rapid increase in the growth of cotton, and not only would its growth be rapid, but its permanent increase would be secured.—There is no greater enemy to Lancashire to its

or 60.2 per cent. Exports of woollen goods during the same period increased from an annual average of 168,747,893 yards to 245,091,834 yards: an increase of 76,343,941 yards or 45.2 per cent. The impetus given to the linen industry is further shown by "the fact that whilst there were in 1858, only 91,646 acres under flax in Ireland, the area increased in 1864 to 301,942 acres."—Palgravé's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, Vol. I, pp. 440, 441.

<sup>38</sup> See above note 18. After April, 1863, the number of persons dependent upon public charity "fell monthly till 1865 when the excess disappeared."—Levi's *History of Commerce* (Second Edition, 1880), p. 446, note 5.

capital and to its labor, than the man who wishes the cotton agriculture of the Southern States, to be continued under slave labor.<sup>39</sup>

It will therefore be seen that while cotton was the economic basis for England's ultra-partisan sympathy for the South, culminating in threatened recognition of the Confederacy, the following factors contributed in varying degrees to the decision of the government to remain neutral in the conflict.

In the first place, recognition of the Confederacy involved the recognition and perpetuation of the institution of slavery, which would be inconsistent with the established policy of the English government not to interfere in the civil dissensions of foreign states except to promote the cause of liberty and freedom throughout the world. Again, recognition would constitute a plain violation of international law: first, because "the indefinite future continuance" of the Confederacy was so uncertain as to make the recognizing power a participant in helping the new state to establish its independence; second, because recognition, accompanied "by a sinister by-thought which warps its judgment", would be premature and therefore a good *casus belli* on the part of the residuary state against the recognizing state; and, third, because recognition would not even have the base merit of a corresponding advantage, namely, the relief of the manufacturing districts, inasmuch as it would involve the risk of war with the United States, with the result that the struggle which recognition sought to terminate would be prolonged rather than shortened.

Moreover, it will be seen by consulting Table I that while American cotton imports declined, imports from other countries increased rapidly, until in 1862 they amounted to

<sup>39</sup> Scherer's *Cotton as a World Power*, p. 282. See also Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 171, June 30, 1863, p. 1830.

two-fifths and in 1864 to four-fifths the total imports in 1860. These importations, together with the extension of the woollen and linen industries, brought considerable relief to the industrial classes, thus lessening the economic necessity for interference in the American quarrel. It was even urged that with proper encouragement of the production of India cotton, Great Britain would become independent of the American supply, but this opinion was not entertained to any marked degree. American cotton was so superior to any other product that it was bound to regain its former place in the British market upon the conclusion of hostilities. But as long as the war continued India cotton supplied to an increasing extent the deficits caused by the cutting off of the American product. These facts were duly emphasized when recognition of the Confederacy was proposed as a remedy for the cotton famine. Finally, it was urged by Bright and others that with England so largely dependent on American cotton, the supply would under a system of slave labor always be insufficient, not to say insecure; whereas, with slavery abolished and freedom established (which would be the inevitable consequence of the war if the combatants were left to themselves), the South would in a few years be able to increase its cotton production sufficiently to insure a permanent supply for the British mills.

#### INFLUENCE OF WHEAT ON ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

While these forces were all contributing to the maintenance of neutrality, various agencies were employed by the North to prevent British recognition of the Confederacy. These agencies were: first, the diplomatic mission of Charles Francis Adams who, in coöperation with President Lincoln and Secretary Seward at home and with John

Bright and William E. Forster in England, handled American affairs so tactfully when there appeared to be real danger of intervention; second, the Emancipation Proclamation, which cleared away British misconceptions concerning the real nature and purpose of the struggle and convinced all classes that democracy was the fundamental issue at stake; third, the military victories of July 4, 1863, which gave evidence of the ability of the North, if left to itself, to preserve the Union; and fourth, Great Britain's dependence on Northern wheat, which was greatly accentuated during the period of the cotton famine and which therefore operated as a contributing influence in keeping the British government officially neutral while the war was in progress. With due recognition of the part played by the first three of these agencies in the maintenance of Great Britain's neutrality, the writer desires to direct special attention to a consideration of the fourth influence, which seems to have been consistently overlooked by all students of Anglo-American relations during this critical period. Attention, therefore, will now be given to Great Britain's relation to the cereal region of the Northwest.

The United Kingdom had by 1860 become a great wheat importing country. The Industrial Revolution had transformed the Nation from an agricultural community exporting grain and live stock into a manufacturing state, dependent to a considerable degree upon foreign Nations for an adequate food supply.<sup>40</sup> Although agriculture had indeed expanded and prospered after the close of the Napoleonic wars, due to enclosures and the improvement in the technique of farming, it had not as a matter of fact con-

<sup>40</sup> Great Britain definitely became a wheat-importing country in 1793.—See Prothero's *English Farming: Past and Present*, p. 268.

tinued to keep pace with the rapid industrial development of the country. Population increased more rapidly than did the supply of foodstuffs, and the British Isles were compelled to rely on foreign importations to meet the annually recurring deficits in the home supply which, heretofore negligible, had now begun to assume vast proportions. Particularly was this true in the case of wheat: the first article of prime necessity in the food consumption of the United Kingdom. In respect to this important food product British agriculture experienced a retrogressive movement, not only falling behind the real needs of the people, but actually supporting a fewer number of people in 1860 than in 1830. The repeal of the Corn Laws<sup>41</sup> in 1846, in response to a popular demand on the part of the industrial classes for more and cheaper food was immediately followed by a rapid increase in the importations of wheat and flour. Imports increased from an annual average of 900,000 quarters for the decade 1831–1841 to 2,948,000 quarters for the decade 1841–1851, and finally reached the high figure of 5,030,000 quarters for the decade ending with 1861.<sup>42</sup> The

<sup>41</sup> For a history of the English Corn Trade and the Corn Laws see especially Prothero's *English Farming: Past and Present*, Ch. XII and Appendix III; Levi's *History of British Commerce* (Second edition, 1880), Part III, Ch. VIII, and Part IV, Chs. I, IV, reprinted in Rand's *Economic History Since 1763* (Fourth edition, 1903), Ch. IX; Day's *History of Commerce* (New Edition, 1916), Chs. XXXV, XXXVI; Ogg's *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, Ch. XII; Slater's *Making of Modern England*, pp. 136–148; McCulloch's *Commercial Dictionary* (New edition, 1850), pp. 411–450. See also Trevelyan's *The Life of John Bright*, Chs. IV, V, VI, on *The Battle of the Corn Laws*, containing an excellent account of the Corn Law repeal.

<sup>42</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. V, pp. 186, 187, 190, 196, 197. See also McCulloch's *Commercial Dictionary* (New Edition, 1850), pp. 438, 439; and Prothero's *English Farming: Past and Present*, Appendix III, p. 441, which presents a tabulation of average prices of wheat in England and Wales from 1771 to 1911. A quarter is equivalent to eight bushels.

The first agricultural census of the United Kingdom was taken in 1867. Reliance must therefore be placed on estimates before that date which, though calculated with considerable care, are nevertheless somewhat at variance. For

average annual home production of wheat for the five-year period ending with 1859 was estimated at 16,000,000 quarters<sup>43</sup> which, together with the annual importations, supplied 21,000,000 quarters: the total amount available for home consumption. The United Kingdom had therefore by 1860 come to depend on foreign countries for one-fourth of the total supply of wheat required for a population of 29,000,000.<sup>44</sup>

The principal granaries of Great Britain were the United States, Russia, Germany, and France. To what extent, then, was Great Britain dependent on the American wheat supply during the years 1860 to 1865, and what effect did this dependence have on the attitude of that country toward the North in the critical period of the war? In answering this question it will be necessary to inquire into the condition of the British and continental harvests; how far the grain-raising States of the Northwest were able to respond to Great Britain's imperative needs; and to what extent this dependence on Northern wheat was recognized when intervention was seriously threatened.

the statistics used in this paper, which are for the United Kingdom as a whole, dependence has been placed chiefly on *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* as the most reliable source of information. *The Economist* (London) has also been found to be very useful, especially for weekly reports of the wheat trade.

<sup>43</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. IV, p. 396.

<sup>44</sup> For an excellent survey of the world's wheat supply from 1852 to 1868 (which includes the first agricultural census), see especially Lawes and Gilbert's *On the Home Produce, Imports, and Consumption of Wheat*, printed in *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. IV, pp. 359-396; Evershed's *Variation in the Price and Supply of Wheat*, printed in *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. V, pp. 153-262; and Caird's paper *On the Agricultural Statistics of the United Kingdom*, read before the Statistical Society in March, 1868, and printed in *The Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review* (edited by William B. Dana), Vol. 60, pp. 431-447.

The United Kingdom in 1860, 1861, and 1862 had a succession of crop failures. The wheat harvest of 1860 returned only 13,000,000 quarters, or 3,000,000 quarters below the general average for the two preceding years. In 1861 occurred one of the worst crop failures in the history of the country, when production fell to 11,000,000 quarters, while in 1862 the harvest amounted to only 12,000,000 quarters.<sup>45</sup> During this three-year period Great Britain was therefore confronted with a huge deficit in her wheat supply. To provide the usual amount of food for the Nation required the importation of a quantity of wheat equal to nearly one-half of the supply needed.<sup>46</sup> Great Britain's dependence on foreign wheat was therefore accentuated to a degree hitherto unknown. The wheat exporting countries of continental Europe, however, failed Great Britain in the hour of need. Imports from Russia and Prussia remained steady, but these two countries were unable to respond to Great Britain's greatly increased demands.<sup>47</sup> Imports from France suffered a sharp falling off, owing to crop failures in 1861 and 1862.<sup>48</sup> Nor were Egypt and the South American countries able to furnish sufficient wheat to meet the short-

<sup>45</sup> See *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. IV, pp. 392-396, for tables giving estimated amounts of home production, imports, and consumption of wheat for England and Wales, Scotland, Great Britain, Ireland, and the United Kingdom respectively. See especially Table V for the United Kingdom which summarizes preceding tables.

<sup>46</sup> Whereas in 1854-1855 and 1855-1856 the imports supplied but 17 per cent of the estimated average annual requirements of wheat for the United Kingdom, in 1860-1861 they supplied 53 per cent; in 1861-1862 they furnished 47 per cent; and in 1862-1863 they amounted to 45 per cent of the total annual requirements. These figures are for the harvest years from September 1 to August 31. See *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. IV, p. 385.

<sup>47</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. V, pp. 163-165, 187, 188, 196, 197, 198-218.

<sup>48</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. V, pp. 159-163, 196, 197, 225, 226.

age.<sup>49</sup> It was the United States alone that was able to supply the deficiency.

The United States had already by 1860 become a great wheat-producing nation, with the prospect of becoming the successful competitor in the world's markets. The development of water transportation and the extension of railroads into the Middle West opened up this region as the great wheat emporium of the world.<sup>50</sup> The production of wheat increased from 100,000,000 bushels in 1849 to 173,000,000 bushels in 1859 — an increase of seventy-three per cent in the decade preceding the threatened disruption of the Union.<sup>51</sup> Of this amount, the free States and Territories contributed 142,000,000 bushels, or eighty-two per cent, while the seceding States contributed only 31,000,000 bushels, or eighteen per cent, as their share of the wheat harvest in 1859.<sup>52</sup> By far the greater proportion of the wheat crop was marketed at home, the rising industrial centers consuming increasing quantities from year to year, and the southern States purchasing on an average about 10,000,000 bushels annually from the North in the decade ending with 1860.<sup>53</sup>

The Civil War cut off the southern market and thus left

<sup>49</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. V, pp. 165–176, 196, 197, 218–225, 226–238, 240–244.

<sup>50</sup> *Eighth Census of the United States*, volume on Agriculture (published in 1864), pp. xxix–xlv. This is a valuable source of information on wheat production in the United States by States and geographic divisions for the decennial years, 1850 and 1860. See especially pp. xli–xliv on "Wheat Growing in the West". See also pp. exxxv, exxxvi.

<sup>51</sup> *Eighth Census of the United States*, volume on Agriculture (published in 1864), pp. xxix–xxxii.

<sup>52</sup> Calculated from the returns of the *Eighth Census of the United States*, volume on Agriculture (1864), pp. xxix–xxxii. See also *Compendium of the Ninth Census*, p. 695; and *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1862, p. 548.

<sup>53</sup> See *Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1875–1876, p. 324.

the North with a rapidly accumulating surplus, which now became available for shipment to England. Moreover, the high prices of wheat in the fifties, due in large measure to the Crimean War and the consequent interruption of the wheat supply from southern Russia, continued to rule throughout the war period,<sup>54</sup> with the result that the increased production of wheat was greatly stimulated. The enlistment of hundreds of thousands of men in the army, not to mention the great overland migration to the western gold fields during these years, threatened the grain-raising States with a serious shortage of farm labor. This deficiency, however, was more than counterbalanced by the popularization of improved farm machinery, the work of women and children in the fields, and immigration from foreign countries and from the eastern and the border States.<sup>55</sup>

Agriculture, as a matter of fact, expanded and prospered

<sup>54</sup> The annual average export prices of American wheat during the eleven-year period 1855 to 1865, inclusive, were as follows:

YEAR	PRICE	YEAR	PRICE
1855	\$1.66	1861	\$1.23
1856	1.85	1862	1.14
1857	1.53	1863	1.29
1858	1.02	1864	1.33
1859	.95	1865	1.95
1860	.98		

See *Annual Report on the Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States* (Treasury Department), 1890, p. xxii; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1868, p. 48. For annual average prices of British wheat imports during the same period, see Prothero's *English Farming: Past and Present*, p. 441. See also Table II, accompanying this paper, in which there is listed the average price of wheat per quarter for the years 1858 to 1865, inclusive.

<sup>55</sup> See Fite's *Agricultural Development of the West during the Civil War* in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XX, pp. 259-278. This article is reprinted in substantially the same form as Chapter I in the same author's *Industrial and Social Conditions in the North during the Civil War*, and contains an excellent survey of the agricultural development of the West during the war period.

during the war period. The forces which had already begun to revolutionize agriculture, transforming it from a primitive, pioneer, self-sufficing industry into a highly complex business, organized on a capitalistic commercial basis, were all brought into play by the exigencies of the war.<sup>56</sup> In no line of agricultural production was this expansion more self-evident than in the wheat-growing industry. The loyal States and Territories increased the total production of wheat from 142,000,000 bushels in 1859 to 187,-000,000 in 1862; while in 1863, the banner year of the war period, the harvests returned 191,000,000 bushels.<sup>57</sup> This increased production of wheat immediately reflected itself in the export trade, which suddenly mounted from 17,000,-000 bushels in 1860 to 53,000,000 bushels in 1861, reached 62,000,000 bushels in 1862, and still remained at the high figure of 58,000,000 bushels in 1863.<sup>58</sup> Almost the entire shipment of wheat and flour went to England.

British importations rose rapidly (see Table II), increasing from an annual average of 5,000,000 quarters to 7,334,000 quarters in 1860, to 8,618,000 quarters in 1861, and finally to 11,548,000 quarters in 1862. Whereas the United States supplied only 11.2 per cent of Great Britain's wheat imports in the two years 1858 and 1859, in 1860 this country supplied 29.2 per cent; in 1861, 41.5 per cent; in 1862, 43.5 per cent; and in 1863 the United

<sup>56</sup> The agricultural revolution in the United States dates from the Civil War to the close of the century. The forces contributing to this revolution were: (a) a liberal land policy: free homesteads after 1862; (b) improved labor saving machinery; (c) extension of transportation facilities; (d) foreign immigration; (e) development of domestic and foreign markets; and (f) agricultural societies and fairs; farmers' organizations; and agricultural journals, colleges, and experiment stations.

<sup>57</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1862, pp. 577-587; 1863, p. 599.

<sup>58</sup> *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1868, p. 47.

TABLE II  
 QUANTITIES OF WHEAT AND FLOUR (REDUCED TO QUARTERS) IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM;  
 AND THE AVERAGE PRICE<sup>59</sup>

COUNTRIES	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
	QUARTERS	QUARTERS	QUARTERS	QUARTERS	QUARTERS	QUARTERS	QUARTERS	QUARTERS
<b>Russia:</b>								
Northern ports	160,000	204,000	233,000	161,000	155,000	155,000	310,000	195,000
Southern ports	452,000	681,000	1,082,000	885,000	1,172,000	891,000	880,000	1,672,000
Prussia	629,000	772,000	1,151,000	1,029,000	1,451,000	1,020,000	1,148,000	1,266,000
Hanse Towns	203,000	152,000	252,000	294,000	230,000	680,000	209,000	183,000
France	1,283,000	1,867,000	1,052,000	314,000	452,000	428,000	658,000	1,398,000
Egypt	465,000	377,000	198,000	340,000	726,000	536,000	84,000	2,000
United States	1,099,000	99,000	2,143,000	3,602,000	5,022,000	2,739,000	2,325,000	945,000
Other Countries	1,052,000	799,000	1,233,000	1,993,000	2,304,000	679,000	1,041,000	302,000
Total Quarters	5,343,000	4,951,000	7,334,000	8,618,000	11,548,000	7,128,000	6,655,000	5,963,000
Average Price per Quarter	44s. 2d.	43s. 9d.	53s. 3d.	55s. 4d.	55s. 5d.	44s. 9d.	40 s. 2d.	41s. 10d.

<sup>59</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. V, pp. 196, 197.

States still supplied 38.4 per cent of Great Britain's imports, which totalled over 7,000,000 quarters. Or taking the three-year period from 1861 to 1863, inclusive, the United States supplied nearly forty-one per cent of Great Britain's wheat and flour imports. It will therefore be readily seen that Great Britain's dependence on American wheat was most acute when the cotton famine was at its height; for while Southern cotton was withheld from shipment to England, Northern wheat supplied the deficits in bread stuffs which other Nations were unable to furnish. These facts go to show that wheat was an economic weapon of considerable weight in the hands of the Federal government just at the time when recognition of the Confederacy was proposed as a remedy for the cotton famine; for while recognition might have enabled England to procure cotton, it would have involved risk of war with the North and the consequent cutting off of the bread supply.<sup>60</sup> That this fact did not escape the attention of the English government is clearly evident from the emphasis accorded to the wheat situation by the leading journals and public men of the time.

<sup>60</sup> The United States Commissioner of Agriculture emphasized the fundamental importance of wheat in the prosecution of the war in the following terms:

"The existing rebellion demands that we should look at the corn and wheat crops together. From the corn is produced most of our meats. Unitedly they form the breadstuffs and meats which now have such a controlling influence at home and abroad. Unitedly, too, they stand arrayed against the kingly prerogatives of cotton, and, therefore, against that rebellion which seeks to overthrow a Union which, so wisely and advantageously, has heretofore bound together in peace all interest.

"The great staple in our exportation of breadstuffs is wheat.

"The exportation of wheat and flour to Europe has continued to increase for many years, until it is certain that its dependence on us is permanent, varying, of course, as to the amount, according as the crops of Great Britain and the continent may be greater or less."—*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1862, p. 548.

*The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* called attention to England's increasing dependence on foreign wheat; it emphasized the uncertainty of the continental supply, owing to the unsettled political and economic conditions then prevailing throughout Europe; and it reminded its readers that the United States possessed superior advantages for supplying the markets of the world.<sup>61</sup> *The Economist*, while according much space to cotton, recognized the primary importance of wheat in an editorial which appeared on October 25, 1862, just when the cotton situation was most serious. After reviewing in detail the development of the corn trade, it observed that this was "one of the most remarkable, perhaps the most remarkable commercial fact of modern times. As respects the mass of the people, it is little to say that their comfort is enhanced by these vast importations, for the truth is that without such importations our people could not exist at all. If we could not subsist our population without foreign aid in 1847, we certainly can not subsist them in 1862."<sup>62</sup> *The Mark Lane Express*, one of the leading agricultural journals of the country, took a similar view of the food situation, but expressed the fear that the United States could not supply England's needs, owing to reduction of the

<sup>61</sup> See Lawes and Gilbert's *On the Home Produce, Imports, and Consumption of Wheat* in *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. IV, pp. 359-396; and Evershed's *Variation in the Price and Supply of Wheat* in *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. V, pp. 153-262. See especially the Appendix to the latter article, pp. 198-262, which gives the British consular reports on the foreign agriculture during the war period.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted from an editorial with valuable statistics on "The Immense Present Importation of Corn", in *The Economist* (London), Vol. XX, No. 1000, October 25, 1862, pp. 1179-1180.

See also letters on *The Wheat Supply* by "Ceres", "Mark Lane", and "Old Broad Street", printed in *The Economist* (London), Vol. XX, No. 959, January 11, 1862, p. 33; No. 960, January 18, 1862, p. 61; No. 961, January 25, 1862, pp. 90, 91; No. 963, February 8, 1862, p. 145.

rural population by enlistments in the army and to the devastation of a considerable portion of the wheat-growing area; but the greatly increased importations from the northern States corrected this assumption.

No less significant were the observations of James Caird who traveled extensively through the rural districts of England and recorded his views of the food situation. In speaking before the Statistical Society in 1868 he referred to Great Britain's imperative need of foreign grain in past years and in the following terms emphasized wheat as the first article of necessity:

The consumption of bread is very constant, . . . . everything must be given up before bread, . . . . bread being the staff of life, it must be had by the people whatever the price may be. This view is confirmed by inquiries which I have since made among some of the leading bakers in the most densely peopled quarters of Whitechapel in the east, and the Harrow Road in the northwest, one of whom has been 30 years in business, and has now three shops in a district entirely inhabited by the working classes. Their testimony is, that the consumption of bread is at present very large, for although dear, it is still the cheapest article of food within reach of the poor; the next substitute, potatoes, being scarce and very dear.<sup>63</sup>

Mr. Caird added that the "one circumstance which might severely affect us, would be a continued cessation of supplies from America. Of the 11,000,000 quarters we imported in 1862, she gave us five; and as the figures show, we have received for many years from her, on the average more than one-third of our yearly supply."<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *The Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review* (edited by William B. Dana), Vol. 60, pp. 437, 438. See also *The Economist* (London), Vol. XXI, No. 1057, November 28, 1863, p. 1317.

<sup>64</sup> *The Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review* (edited by William B. Dana), Vol. 60, p. 440.

"Lastly, the consumption per head of the population will vary, not only according to the amount of employment, and to the price of wheat itself, but

While the press emphasized Great Britain's dependence on American wheat, leading public men of the country, such as Bright, Cobden, and Forster, did not fail to impress this fact upon the people and upon the governing authorities. In a speech delivered before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on October 25, 1862, Mr. Cobden, in reviewing British foreign policy in relation to the cotton situation, called particular attention to the importance of American wheat in these significant terms:

Recollect that half, at least, of all the exports from America come in ordinary times to this country. But our imports from America do not consist solely of cotton. It would be bad enough to keep out the cotton, to stop your spindles, and throw your work-people out of employment. But that is not all. You get an article even more important than your cotton from America — your food. In the last session of Parliament, an Hon. Member, himself an extensive miller and corn-dealer, moved for a return of the quantity of grain and flour for human food imported into this country from September of last year to June in the present year. His object was to show what would have been the effects on the supplies of food brought to this kingdom if the apprehension of war, in relation to the Trent affair, had unhappily been realized. Well, his estimate was, that the food imported from America between September of last year and June of this year was equal to the sustenance of between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 of people for a whole twelve-month, and his remarks to me was . . . . that if that food had not been brought from America, all the money in Lombard street could not have purchased it elsewhere.<sup>65</sup>

to that of other consumable articles. If other food-stuffs are cheap a low price of wheat may but little increase its consumption; but if other articles are dear a relatively low price of wheat will increase its consumption. Again, if both wheat and other articles are dear, it may be a question whether the consumption of the first necessary of life — *bread* — will not be increased rather than diminished, to compensate for the necessary abstinence from, or limitation in the use of, the less absolutely essential food-stuffs.' — Quoted from Lawes and Gilbert's *On the Home Produce, Imports, and Consumption of Wheat* in *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Second Series, Vol. IV, p. 380.

<sup>65</sup> *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by Richard Cobden* (edited by John Bright and J. E. T. Rogers, 1880), pp. 457, 458.

Mr. Cobden further contended that Great Britain's power to interfere in the American war had been exaggerated; that the policy to be pursued by the North was in the hands of the great grain-raising States of the Mississippi Valley situated remote and inaccessible from the sea; and that if this region, populated by 12,000,000 people, was determined to continue the war "all the Powers of Europe could not reach that 'far West' to coerce it."<sup>66</sup> Bright spoke in a similar vein to large crowds of people, urging that it was for the material interest of England to remain neutral in the struggle. While, therefore, meetings were called to memorialize the government to recognize the independence of the Confederacy, such gatherings were counter-balanced by other meetings where it was pointed out that recognition would be a false step and that it would not bring to England's shores a single ship-load of cotton, unless followed up by intervention, which if adopted would mean war: a "war in favor of the Slave Confederacy of the South and against the free North and Northwest whence comes a large proportion of our imported corn."<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> "The policy to be pursued by the North will be decided by the elections in the great Western States: I mean the great grain-growing region of the Mississippi valley. If the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—if those States determine to carry on this war—if they say, 'We will never make peace and give up the mouth of the Mississippi, which drains our 10,000 miles of navigable waters into the Gulf of Mexico; we will never make peace while that river is in the hands of a foreign Power',—why, all the Powers of Europe cannot reach that 'far West' to coerce it. It is 1,000 miles inland across the Rocky Mountains, or 1,000 miles up the Mississippi, with all its windings, before you get to that vast region—that region which is rich beyond all the rest of the world besides, peopled by ten or twelve million souls doubling in numbers every few years. It is that region which will be the depository in future of the wealth and numbers of that great Continent; and whatever the decision of that region is, New York, and New England, and Pennsylvania will agree with that decision." Quoted from Cobden's speech at Rochdale, October 29, 1862, printed in *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy* by Richard Cobden (edited by John Bright and J. E. T. Rogers, 1880), p. 469.

<sup>67</sup> Quoted from Watts's *Facts of the Cotton Famine* in Scherer's *Cotton as a World Power*, p. 279.

Nor was British dependence on American wheat ignored in the Parliamentary debates. On the very same day that the Roebuck Resolution was presented, Lord Robert Montague argued that intervention to be successful must exhaust every point in dispute. It was complicated, he said: first, by the slavery question; second, by the fact that the North had now become a great military power; third, by the prospect of the seas being covered with Alabamas and Floridas which the North would fit out to prey on English ships; and fourth, by the question of the grain supply. Regarding this latter question he said:

We import largely of grain, our two chief sources of supply being Poland and the North West States of America. Was it likely that we should be able to get much from Poland under her present circumstances? No. Then we must rest mainly upon supplies from North America. But how would war affect that? Would not the distress in England be aggravated by a war with America? From the Northern States of America we received 5,500,000 quarters of corn, whereas from the north of Europe we received only 2,000,000. The total imported into England in 1861 was 16,094,914 quarters, of which more than one-third came from the North Western States — namely, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin — whose yearly available produce was not nearly exhausted by their exports.<sup>68</sup>

These facts led Lord Montague to add:

If these states could find a market for their corn in England, it would promote a good feeling between them and Canada; but if this country went to war with America that good feeling would be prevented. In fact, a desire for alliance with us was already growing up in those States. By holding back from war those North Western States will force trade with us, through Canada; and perhaps, with that object, enter into close alliance with us, while the transit of the goods would be of material benefit to Canada; while by running

<sup>68</sup> Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 171, June 30, 1863, pp. 1794, 1795.

the risk of war we should be injuring ourselves commercially in the greatest degree.<sup>69</sup>

Mr. Forster stated that the Roebuck Resolution meant war; that the country at large was not in favor of war; and that unless the harvest was better than it promised to be, the sufferings of the people would be great indeed if they were deprived of the American wheat crop of this year. In the light of these facts, Mr. Forster begged the House of Commons to consider what the cost of a war for cotton would be in corn.<sup>70</sup>

Meanwhile events brought the Ministry to a clear realization of the fact that it was to Great Britain's interest to remain neutral throughout the continuance of the struggle. Northern resources now began to tell heavily against the South, thus foreshadowing the ultimate triumph of the Federal army and navy. The Emancipation Proclamation united Northern sentiment in favor of the prosecution of the war and strengthened the support of the Union cause among all classes of people in England. No less important was Mr. Adams' calm but firm and tactful insistence on the claims of the Union government, which won for himself and the cause which he represented the respect of British officialdom. But it was Northern wheat that may well be regarded as the decisive factor, counter-balancing the influence of cotton, in keeping the British government from recognizing the Confederacy.

That the wheat situation in England was a serious one can not be denied. It became a subject for detailed investigation, it received extended treatment in the leading journals of the time, and it was accorded considerable emphasis

<sup>69</sup> Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 171, June 30, 1863, p. 1795.

<sup>70</sup> Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 171, June 30, 1863, pp. 1812, 1813.

in public speeches and in the debates of Parliament. That the wheat situation must have exerted a profound influence on the government may reasonably be concluded from the evidence presented. The Ministry must have realized that a war for Southern cotton would have to be paid for in Northern wheat, which would in consequence be withheld from shipment to England, and that a food famine would entail more serious consequences for England than a cotton famine. The Ministry must, in short, have clearly understood what Bright and Cobden repeatedly urged — that it was for Great Britain's material interest to maintain a position of official neutrality. These are the facts which help to explain why Mr. Roebuck on July 13th — several days before the news of the Northern victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg was received — decided to withdraw his resolution asking for the recognition of the Confederacy.<sup>71</sup> This action marks the turning point in Anglo-American diplomacy during the Civil War period. The danger of English intervention in behalf of the Confederacy now quickly passed away and Lord Palmerston hastened to state publicly that it was consonant with the interests and foreign policies of the British government to remain neutral in the American war.<sup>72</sup>

It will therefore be seen that Great Britain's dependence on the United States was greatly accentuated during the period of our civil conflict. The blockade of the Southern ports and the consequent interruption of the cotton supply occasioned widespread distress throughout the manufacturing districts, leading to a demand for the recognition of

<sup>71</sup> Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 172, July 13, 1863, p. 662.

<sup>72</sup> Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 172, July 13, 1863, pp. 668-672.

the Confederacy which the government appeared for a time hardly able to resist. It was while affairs thus hung in the balance that England's dependence on Northern wheat was most pronounced. When it is remembered that the question of an *adequate* and *cheap* food supply concerned the masses of the people to no less degree than did the question of the cotton supply, it may be seriously questioned whether the government would have ventured in the face of public opinion to recognize the Confederacy; for recognition implied forcible intervention and the risk of a war with the North and the consequent cutting off of the wheat supply when England could ill afford to do without it. Thus did economic forces contend for the mastery in the field of Anglo-American diplomacy during one of the most critical periods in the history of our foreign affairs. In this contest wheat won, demonstrating its importance as a world power of greater significance than cotton, which the South had by 1860 come to regard as an effective economic weapon with which it could bring England to its aid and thus establish its independence.

LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT

THE IOWA STATE COLLEGE OF  
AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS  
AMES IOWA

## SOME PUBLICATIONS

*Iowa Stories: Book Two.* By CLARENCE RAY AURNER. Iowa City: Published by the author. 1918. Pp. 174. Plates, maps. This volume is a continuation of the material in *Book One* of this series which is designed for use by the pupils in the lower grades of the public schools. There are eighteen chapters dealing with the following subjects: Territorial governments over the Iowa country, the establishment and government of counties, the first townships, the admission of Iowa into the Union, the location of the seat of government at Iowa City, the Missouri-Iowa boundary dispute, the early history of the railroads, the school fund, the establishment of the public school system, the establishment of the State University, the early colleges of Iowa, the first newspapers, the exploration of the Iowa country, and Indian land cessions in Iowa.

The book contains numerous cuts, maps, and charts, which help to vivify the text, while the stories are told in simple language capable of being understood by young readers. This volume will no doubt receive the same welcome from public school teachers which was accorded to its predecessor in the same series.

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A *Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress* which has recently been issued will be very useful to all persons engaged in historical research. There are brief descriptions of the documents and a comprehensive index.

A monograph of more than one hundred and sixty pages on *The State Movement for Efficiency and Economy*, by Raymond Moley, is a dissertation submitted at Columbia University.

*The Founding of Vermont: The Controversy over the New Hampshire Grant*, by Joel N. Eno; another installment of *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, by Arthur W. H. Eaton; an un-

signed article entitled *A Rare Old Flag*; and *The Expulsion of the British Consuls by the Confederate Government*, by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., are contributions in the April number of *Americana*.

*A List of Official Publications of American State Constitutional Conventions, 1776–1916*, compiled by Augustus H. Shearer, is a useful publication of the Newberry Library of Chicago.

The *Fourteenth Annual Report* of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library is accompanied by *A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia 1776–1918 and of the Constitutional Conventions*, compiled by Earl G. Swem and John W. Williams.

Two articles in *The Geographical Review* for April are: *American Explorers of Africa*, by Edwin S. Balch; and *The Influence of Geographical Environment upon Religious Beliefs*, by R. H. Whitbeck. In the May number, among others, are the following articles: *The Growth of American Cities*, by Lawrence V. Roth; *Some Influences of the Sea upon the Industries of New England*, by Malcolm Keir; and *The “Old-Fashioned” Winter of 1917–8*, by Charles F. Brooks.

*The American Review of Reviews* for March contains the following articles, among others: *Illinois, the New Keystone of the Union*, by Frank O. Lowden; and *Chicago—North America’s Transportation Center*, by George C. Sikes.

*The Privileges and Immunities of State Citizenship* is the title of a monograph by Roger Howell, which constitutes a recent number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*. The history of the comity clause, the general scope of the comity clause, rights protected against discriminatory legislation, rights not protected against discriminatory legislation, discriminatory legislation under the police power, power of the States over foreign corporations, and conclusions are the subjects embraced in the seven chapters.

*The Journal of American History* for March is devoted to illustrated articles dealing with various phases of Great Britain's participation in the Great War. Among the articles are the following:

*The Epic of Ypres: The Great Battles of the Famous Salient*, by John Buchan; *The British Navy*, by Alfred Noyes; *The Economics of the War*, by R. H. Brand; and *Great Britain's Sinews of War*, by Dominick Spring-Rice.

Among the articles in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for April are the following: *The Spirit of Youth in Arms*, by Walter Graham; *The Budget System and Popular Control*, by Robert H. Tucker; and *Function and Method in the Teaching of History*, by Edward J. Woodhouse.

*Benjamin Banneker, the Negro Mathematician and Astronomer*, by Henry E. Baker; *George Liele and Andrew Bryan, Pioneer Negro Baptist Preachers*, by John W. Davis; *Fifty Years of Howard University*, by Dwight O. W. Holmes; and *More About the Historical Errors of James Ford Rhodes*, by John R. Lynch, are articles in the April number of *The Journal of Negro History*. Under the heading of "Documents" will be found some letters of Governor Edward Coles bearing on the struggle of freedom and slavery in Illinois.

Four articles in *The American Political Science Review* for May are the following: *Revolutionary Russia*, by Simon Litman; *The Juristic Conception of the State*, by W. W. Willoughby; *The Background of American Federalism*, by Andrew C. McLaughlin; and *New Methods in Due-Process Cases*, by Albert M. Kales. Subjects treated in the *Legislative Notes and Reviews*, edited by W. F. Dodd, are: absent-voting laws, 1917; reform of legislative procedure in Nebraska; pensions for public employees; constitutional amendments and referenda measures, 1917; and constitutional conventions.

The May number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* deals with the general subject of *Social Work with Families*. The various articles are grouped under the following headings: the approach to the social case treatment, social case work with the physically or mentally handicapped, and social case work with the socially handicapped. The supplement to this

number contains a monograph on *Procedure in State Legislatures*, by H. W. Dodds. There are six chapters dealing with the legislature's inherent powers in matters of procedure, the organization of the houses, introduction of bills, committees, passage of bills, and legislative leadership.

Under the heading of *Our War Documents* in the January number of *The Military Historian and Economist* there is a plea for a public record office and an archives building at Washington, D. C. Other articles are: *Naval History: Mahan and his Successors*; the second installment of *Man and Nature at Port Hudson 1863*, by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr.; and part two of *Pope's Campaign in Virginia*, by R. M. Johnston. In the April number there are four contributions: *The Historical Section in a General Staff*, by Paul Azan; *Manufacturing Development During the Civil War*, by Victor S. Clark; *Salonika and the War in the East*, by René Pinon; and *Are we in Danger of Becoming Prussianized?*, by T. N. Carver.

#### WESTERN AMERICANA

Number twenty-nine of the *Filson Club Publications* consists of a monograph of over one hundred and sixty pages on *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, by Asa Earl Martin.

*Clans and Moieties in Southern California*, by Edward Winslow Gifford, is a monograph recently published in the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*.

*The Art of George Catlin*, by Edwin S. Balch, is an article of interest to students of Mississippi Valley history which appears in volume fifty-seven, number two, of the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.

The *Washington University Studies* for April contains a monograph by Chauncey S. Boucher on *The Secession and Co-operation Movements in South Carolina, 1848 to 1852*.

Two numbers of the *Studies in the Social Sciences* published by the University of Minnesota, which have recently appeared, are the

following: *A History of the Tariff Relations of the Australian Colonies*, by Cephas D. Allin; and *A Study of State Aid to Public Schools in Minnesota*, by Raymond A. Kent.

#### IOWANA

F. A. Welch discusses *The Junior Red Cross and its Work* in the April number of *Midland Schools*.

Continuations of *Timbers for the Temple: A Story of Old Nauvoo in the Days of her Glory*, by Elbert A. Smith, appear in *Autumn Leaves* for April, May, and June.

In the March-April number of the *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin* may be found statistics of expenditures for road and bridge work in Iowa for the four years 1914 to 1917, inclusive.

Two articles appear in the *Iowa Law Bulletin* for May, namely: *Spendthrift Trusts in Iowa*, by H. C. Horack; and *Iowa Decisions on Breach of Marriage Promise*, by Herbert F. Goodrich.

Among the articles in *The Northwestern Banker* for April are the following: *Poison Growth of Prussianism*, by Otto H. Kahn; and *The Civilian's Duty During the War*, by Frederick W. Gehle. In the June number, among others, are the following articles: *Patriotic People of the U. S. A.*, by George T. McCandless; *Some Problems of War and Peace*, by Sidney A. Foster; *The Menace of Tax Exemption*, by E. D. Chassell; and *American Financial Awakening*, by George Lawther.

*Abolish Public Service Commission*, by George F. Thompson; and *Movement for Proportional Representation*, by C. G. Hoag, are among the papers in the April number of *American Municipalities*. In the May issue there is a description of a *New Method of Tax Levy*. Two articles in the June number are of interest from the standpoint of the financing of war activities, namely: *Webster County's Patriot's Fund*, and *An Argument Against the War Chest*.

*Scenes of Early Days*, by Heman C. Smith; the *Autobiography of Elder William H. Greenwood (Seventy) of British Isles*; and a continuation of the *History of Presidents of Seventy*, in which is to be found the autobiography of Elder Elmer E. Long, are contributions in the April number of the *Journal of History* published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

An address delivered at St. Paul on April 5th by Judge Martin J. Wade at a mass meeting held under the auspices of the America First Association has been printed in pamphlet form.

Among the numerous papers in volume nineteen of the *Bulletin of Iowa Institutions* are the following: *Assets, Not Liabilities: Citizens, Not Wards*, by Miriam E. Carey; *The State Psychopathic Hospital*, by Albert M. Barrett; *The Receding Tide of Civilization*, by Harry C. Bowman; *Coöperation Between the Board of Control and the State Board of Education*, by W. R. Boyd; *The Perkins Law and its Operation*, by W. T. Graham; *What Iowa is Doing for its Old Soldiers*, by B. C. Whitehill; and *Governor Larrabee's Work as a Member of the Board of Control of State Institutions*, by John Cownie.

Edwin W. Stanton is the writer of a *Eulogy on the Life of Mrs. Rowena Edson Stevens* which appears in the May number of *The Alumnus of Iowa State College*. An article on *Iowa State's Training Camp* tells of the special training in mechanics for drafted men which is being conducted at the College. There is also a biographical sketch of Franklin B. Gault. In the June-July number there are biographical sketches of Julia Blodgett Hainer and Ralph Leonard Collett; and the *Service Roll* of the College up to date.

*Decorah—In the Switzerland of Iowa* is an illustrated article by Edwin C. Bailey in the April number of *The Iowa Magazine*, in which there is considerable historical data. Other articles are: *A Complete Indictment of Disloyalty*, by G. F. Rinehart; *Stefansson's New Race—Blonde Eskimo*, by Edith Saylor; and *Judge Logan and his Work for Iowa*. In the June number there is an account

of Iowa's record in the Third Liberty Loan Campaign. Under the heading of *Iowa's War Activities* are some interesting facts and figures. *Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa*, is the subject of an article by Fay Nixon Speer.

Among the many papers in the *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Iowa State Conference of Social Work* (formerly known as the Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction) are the following: *Social Legislation, with Especial Reference to the Work of the Last General Assembly of Iowa*, by Paul S. Peirce; *Training Volunteers for Home Service with Soldiers' Families*, by J. L. Gillin; *The State as the Great Community*, by Robert A. Woods; *Labor Situation in Iowa*, by A. L. Uriek; *The Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, State University of Iowa*, by B. T. Baldwin; *Civilian Relief Work in the State of Iowa*, by O. E. Klingaman; *Progress and Problems of Children's Code-making*, by F. E. Haynes; and *The Need of a National Vagrancy Act*, by J. C. Sanders.

A very practical service for the soldiers is described in *The Iowa Alumnus* for March under the heading of *University Treats Soldiers' Garments for Vermin*. There is also an address on *Patriotism* delivered by Laenas G. Weld at the Foundation Day exercises in February. *Home Economics and War Service*, by Ruth A. Wardall; and descriptions of the two scientific expeditions sent out by the University this spring under Charles C. Nutting and Homer R. Dill, are among the contents of the April number. In May there may be found a biographical sketch of *Major-General George W. Read*, by Edwin L. Sabin; a discussion of *The Extension Division and the Red Cross*, by O. E. Klingaman; and some data concerning *The University in the War*. The June number contains, besides an account of the 1918 commencement exercises, a number of additions to the Honor Roll of the University.

The most recent number of the *Studies in the Social Sciences*, published by the State University of Iowa and edited by F. E. Haynes, is a discussion of *The Iowa Plan for the Combination of Public and Private Relief*, by Bessie A. McClenahan. There are eight chapters, the first of which is the introduction. Chapter two

deals with legislation concerning public relief in Iowa, and chapter three describes the administration of poor relief in Polk County. The next three chapters are concerned with the cost of poor relief in Iowa, variations in administration, and the difficulties of administration. The seventh chapter describes the workings of the Iowa combination plan in Grinnell, Oskaloosa, Waterloo, Ottumwa, Burlington, Fort Dodge, and Cedar Rapids, and points out the significance of the plan. The concluding chapter suggests a State program, including a discussion of the dangers and advantages of the combination plan, and contains recommendations for the improvement of the present system. "Miss McClenahan, the author of the monograph, has been the leader in the state in the wider use of the Iowa plan", says the editor in his introduction. "In the larger number of instances where it has been adopted, she has made the preliminary survey in connection with her work for the Extension Division of the State University of Iowa."

## SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Adams, Henry Carter,

*American Railway Accounting.* New York: Henry Holt & Co.  
1918.

Aurner, Clarence Ray,

*Iowa Stories: Book Two.* Iowa City. Published by the author.  
1918.

Bone, Hugh Alvin,

*Geographic Factors in American History.* Sioux City: Published by the author. 1917.

Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman,

*Why We Did Not Picket the White House* (Good Housekeeping, March, 1918).

Clarkson, Coker Fifield,

*Automobiles in the Great War* (Scientific American Supplement, January 26, 1918).

Hall, James Norman,

*High Adventure.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1918.

Hansen, Marcus L.,

*Old Fort Snelling 1819-1858.* Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1918.

Heilman, Ralph Emerson,

*Do You Keep Your Men Too Long?* (System, April, 1918).

Hillis, Newell Dwight,

*The Agony of France* (Canadian Magazine, March, 1918).

Hoover, Herbert Clark,

*Food for All—A Fundamental War Problem* (Scientific American, April 6, 1918).

Hornaday, William Temple,

*Awake! America: Object Lessons and Warnings.* New York: Moffat, Yard & Co. 1918.

Hough, Emerson,

*The Way Out: A Story of the Cumberlands To-day.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1918.

Hughes, Rupert,

*The Unpardonable Sin.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1918.

Keyes, Charles Rollin,

*Rate of Desert Delta Growth* (Science, February 22, 1918).

Kruse, Paul J.,

*Strategic Retreat* (School and Society, May 4, 1918).

Lowden, Frank Orren,

*Illinois, the New Keystone of the Union* (American Review of Reviews, March, 1918).

MacLean, George Edwin,

*Women's Colleges in Great Britain* (School and Society, January 12, 1918).

McClenahan, Bessie A.,

*The Iowa Plan for the Combination of Public and Private Relief.* Iowa City: The State University of Iowa. 1918.

Merry, Glenn Newton,

*National Defense and Public Speaking* (Quarterly Journal of Speech Education, January, 1918); *War and Intercollegiate Contests* (Quarterly Journal of Speech Education, May, 1918).

Mott, John Raleigh,

*View of the Situation in Russia* (Missionary Review, March, 1918).

Newton, Joseph Fort,

*The Mercy of Hell; and Other Sermons.* Boston: Murray Press. 1917.

Patrick, George T. W.,

*The Psychology of Social Reconstruction* (The Scientific Monthly, June, 1918).

Piper, Edwin Ford,

*Dry Bones* (Overland, April, 1918); *Road and Path* (Current Opinion, January, 1918).

Pollock, Ivan L.,

*History of Economic Legislation in Iowa.* Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1918.

Richardson, Anna Steese,

*Lure of the Office* (Woman's Home Companion, March, 1918); *Soldiers All* (Woman's Home Companion, May, 1918); *My Visit to Our Sailor Boys* (Woman's Home Companion, June, 1918).

Ross, Edward Alsworth,

*Russia in Upheaval.* New York: The Century Co. 1918.

*Labor and Capital in Russia* (Century, May, 1918); *Soil Hunger in Russia* (Century, April, 1918); *Russian Women and Their Outlook* (Century, June, 1918); *Social Decadence* (American Journal of Sociology, March, 1918); *Principle of Balance* (American Journal of Sociology, May, 1918).

Steiner, Edward Alfred,

*Wrong Strategy* (Outlook, January 2, 1918).

#### SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Frontier Sketches, running in the *Burlington Post*.

Early Railroad Days, in the *McGregor Times*, April 4, 1918.

Sketch of the life of William T. Lyon, in the *Bayard Advocate*, April 4, 1918.

- Sketch of the life of Benjamin F. Crocker, in the *Sigourney News*, April 10, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. W. R. Houghton, in the *Sigourney News*, April 10, 17, 1918.
- Spirit Lake Massacre Recalled by Member of Relief Expedition, in the *Estherville Democrat*, April 10, 1918.
- Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp — Survivor of Famous Spirit Lake Massacre, in the *Ames Times*, April 10, 1918.
- A Term of Court in the Early Days of Knoxville, in the *Knoxville Express*, April 10, 1918.
- April in History, in the *Colfax Clipper*, April 11, 1918.
- Fifty Years a Railroad Man, in the *Tama Herald*, April 11, 1918.
- Shiloh Anniversary, by James Reagin, in the *Bloomfield Republican*, April 11, 1918.
- Fiftieth Anniversary of First Unitarian Church of Davenport, in the *Davenport Times*, April 11, 1917.
- Sketch of the life of Rev. J. E. Snowden, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, April 11, 1918; and the *Cedar Falls Record*, April 12, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of F. F. Hughes, in the *Vinton Times*, April 12, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Jacob Harper, in the *Albia Union*, April 12, 1918.
- Reminiscences of Former Members of First Unitarian Church, in the *Davenport Democrat*, April 14, 1918.
- Jubilee Service of Methodist Church, in the *Ames Times*, April 15, 1918.
- Eulogy on the Life of Mrs. J. L. Stevens, by Edwin W. Stanton, in the *Boone News-Republican*, April 15, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. J. W. Hurd, by Betty Low, in the *Northwood Anchor*, April 17, 1918.
- James G. Whitney — In the Banking Business for Forty Years, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, April 17, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Conrad L. Grimsby, in the *New Hampton Tribune*, April 17, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Judge Alfred N. Hobson, in the *New Hampton Gazette*, April 17, 1918.

- Sketch of the life of James T. Johnston, in the *Bedford Times-Republican*, April 18, 1918.
- Memories of Pella, in the *Pella Chronicle*, April 18, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Judge Alfred N. Hobson, in the *Elkader Register & Argus*, April 18, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Harry H. Phillips, in the *Newton Record*, April 18, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Fayette S. Ranney, in the *Storm Lake Tribune*, April 19, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Daniel Boone Wright, in the *Boone Independent*, April 19, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Thomas Wilkinson, in the *Fort Madison Democrat*, April 22, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Anson D. Bicknell, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, April 23, 1918.
- Southwest Iowa has Unique War Record, in the *Anita Tribune*, April 24, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of James C. Reams, in the *Tama Herald*, April 24, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of William E. Fuller, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, April 24, 1918, and the *West Union Gazette*, April 24, 1918.
- Two Pioneers—S. H. Taft and A. D. Bicknell, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, April 24, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Daniel Dow, in the *Clarinda Journal*, April 25, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Anson D. Bicknell, in the *Humboldt Independent*, April 25, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Kirkwood Jewett, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, May 1, 1918.
- Journal is Fifty Years Old, in the *Leon Journal*, May 2, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of John Thomas Metcalf, in the *Waukon Standard*, May 3, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Stephen H. Taft, in the *Humboldt Republican*, May 3, 1918.
- George Upp, Painter, by Blanch Wingate, in the *Des Moines Register*, May 5, 1918.

- Some Reminiscences of Uncle Billy Moore, in the *Des Moines Register*, May 6, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of John H. Wheeler in the *Shenandoah Sentinel-Post*, May 8, 1918.
- Women's Work for Soldiers During Civil War, in the *Malvern Leader*, May 9, 1918.
- Little Log Cabin in the Lane — Oldest Building in North Tama, by Ella C. Taylor, in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, May 10, 1918.
- Reunion of Former Students in St. Ambrose School, in the *Des Moines Register*, May 12, 1918.
- History of Nora Springs, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, May 14, 1918.
- History of the Washington Press, in the *Washington Press*, May 15, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Judge William H. Fahey, in the *Guthrie Center Guthrian*, May 16, 1918.
- Benjamin F. Osborn — Forty Years in Rippey, in the *Jefferson Bee*, May 16, 1918.
- Old Drum Used in Civil War, in the *Jefferson Herald*, May 16, 1918.
- Tribute to Mrs. Tacitus Hussey, in the *Des Moines Capital*, May 20, 1918.
- C. W. Smith of Cherokee Passed Through Indian Massacre of 1862, in the *Cherokee Times*, May 20, 1918.
- Early Days in Jefferson County, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, May 22, 1918.
- Raising Money for Soldier Relief Work in Civil War, in the *Jefferson Bee*, May 22, 1918.
- Story of Iowa's First Creamery, in the *New Hampton Gazette*, May 23, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Judge Alfred H. McVey, in the *Des Moines Capital*, May 27, 1918.
- Events in Van Buren County Sixty Years Ago, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, May 30, 1918.
- Early Days in Wapello County, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, May 31, 1918.

- Sketch of the life of James S. Clarkson, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, May 31, 1918.
- Tribute to James S. Clarkson, in the *Des Moines Capital*, June 1, 1918.
- Glimpse of Webster City in 1857, in the *Webster City Journal*, June 4, 6, 1918.
- The Spirit Lake Massacre, in the *Montezuma Palladium*, June 4, 11, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. Ellis-Woods, a Leader in Women's Work During the Civil War, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, June 5, 1918.
- Memories of Pella, by C. M. Moore, in the *Pella Chronicle*, June 6, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of James S. Clarkson, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, June 6, 1918.
- Anniversary Day in Carroll County History, in the *Glidden Graphic*, June 6, 1918.
- "Ret" Clarkson Threatened with Death in Historic Prohibition Fight Thirty-five Years Ago, in the *Des Moines Register*, June 9, 1918.
- Ainsworth's Letter to Clarkson, in the *Des Moines Register*, June 9, 1918.
- Recollections of Clarkson, by John F. Dobbs, in the *Des Moines Register*, June 9, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of John A. Barber, in the *Estherville Republican*, June 12, 1918.
- Early History of Van Buren County, in the *Keosauqua Gem*, June 13, 1918.
- Conditions During the Civil War, by Dr. M. L. Bartlett, in the *Des Moines Capital*, June 14, 1918.
- Monument to Chemeuse or "Johnny Green", in the *Des Moines Register*, June 16, 1918.
- High Prices During Civil War, in the *Hampton Recorder*, June 19, 1918.
- The Mexican War, by Cyril B. Upham, in the *Clinton Herald*, June 22, 24, 25, 1918.

## HISTORICAL SOCIETIES PUBLICATIONS

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for April is devoted to appendices to Edward A. Miller's monograph on *The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio*, which was published in the January number.

A brief article on *Sugar in the Revolutionary War*, which appears in the January number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, is of current interest.

Volume two of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1914 consists of a general index to the *Papers* and *Annual Reports* of the Association from 1884 to 1914, compiled by David Maydole Matteson.

*Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* is the name of a new monthly publication which the Nebraska State Historical Society began issuing in February. It contains notes concerning the work of the Society and activities in the State at large along historical lines. Addison E. Sheldon is the editor.

A detailed account of *The Meeting of the American Historical Association at Philadelphia* appears in the opening pages of *The American Historical Review* for April. Then follow three articles, namely: *The Mikado's Ratification of the Foreign Treaties*, by Payson J. Treat; *The Committee on the Conduct of the Civil War*, by William Whatley Pierson, Jr.; and *Austro-German Relations Since 1866*, by Roland G. Usher.

In an article entitled *The Dawn of the Woman's Movement* in the April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* Charles W. Dahlinger presents an account of the origin and history of the Pennsylvania law of 1848 relative to married women's property.

An article of general interest which opens the *Indiana Magazine of History* for June is one by George S. Cottman entitled *Some Reminiscences of James Whitcomb Riley*. Will Maurer is the writer of *A Historical Sketch of Tell City, Indiana*. An interesting *Diary of the Mexican War*, kept by Thomas Bailey, a musician in the Fifth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers; and the concluding installment of J. Edward Murr's study of *Lincoln in Indiana* are other contributions.

The January number of *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* is almost entirely devoted to an article on *Charleston and Charleston Neck: The Original Grantees and the Settlements along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers*, by Henry A. M. Smith.

The *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* for June opens with a discussion of *Shakespeare and the Metrical Psalms*, by Louis F. Benson. *How Princeton Seminary Got to Work* is the subject of an article by Benjamin B. Warfield; while Joseph M. Batten's study of the *Life of Alexander Henderson* is concluded in this number.

Two articles in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June are: *Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth: First Hero of the Civil War*, by Charles A. Ingraham; and *The Paul Revere Print of the Boston Massacre*, by Louise Phelps Kellogg. There are also *Some Letters of Paul O. Husting Concerning the Present Crisis*. Under the heading of "Historical Fragments" there appear notes on the beginnings of Milwaukee, the Senatorial election of 1869, and the alien suffrage provision in the Constitution of Wisconsin. A communication concerning Daniel Webster's Wisconsin investments is of general interest.

*Populism in Louisiana During the Nineties* is the title of a paper by Melvin J. White which is the opening contribution in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June. A biographical sketch of *Stephen F. Austin* is written by Eugene C. Barker; William L. Jenks discusses *Territorial Legislation by Governor and Judges*;

and Arthur C. Cole presents a survey of *Historical Activities in the Old Northwest*. There is also a short article by William Trimble entitled *A Reconsideration of Gold Discoveries in the Northwest*.

*Grooved Stone Axes*, by Charles E. Brown; *Effigy Mounds in Northern Illinois*, by T. H. Lewis; and *Additional Wisconsin Indian Medals*, by Charles E. Brown, are articles in the April number of *The Wisconsin Archeologist*.

In the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for April there are the following articles, among others: *The Salem Iron Factory*, by Francis B. C. Bradlee; and *Hathorne: Part of Salem Village in 1700*, by Sidney Perley.

The April-June number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is devoted to another installment of *Selections from the Follett Papers*, edited by L. B. Hamlin.

The opening contribution in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for March is an article on the *History of Umpqua Academy*, by R. A. Booth. Some *Reminiscences of Early Days at the Old Umpqua Academy* are related by George B. Kuykendall; and Austin Mires presents *Some Recollections of Old Umpqua Academy*. Other articles are: *The Umpqua Academy Students' Association*, by J. H. Booth; *Early History of Southern Oregon*, by Binger Hermann; and *Joel Ware: A Sketch*, by George Stowell.

*Bishop Flaget's Diary*, by W. J. Howlett; and *Eleanor C. Donnelly*, by Honor Walsh, are among the articles in the March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*.

A biographical sketch of *James J. Hill*, by Joseph G. Pyle; and a study of *The Organization of the Volunteer Army in 1861 with Special Reference to Minnesota*, by John D. Hicks, are the two articles which appear in the February number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin*.

Two articles are to be found in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for December, namely: *The Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee*, by

Archibald Henderson; and *Old Fort Loudon*, by John H. DeWitt. There are also some *Selected Letters, 1846–1856*, from the *Donelson Papers*, with introduction and notes by St. George L. Sioussat.

The second installment of Florence Elizabeth Holladay's study of *The Powers of the Commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department, 1863–1865*, occupies the opening pages of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for April. Philip C. Tucker contributes an article on *The United States Gunboat Harriet Lane*; and Ben C. Stuart is the writer of a sketch of *Hamilton Stuart: Pioneer Editor*. There is also another section of the *Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828–1832*, edited by Eugene C. Barker.

*The Retreat from Petersburg to Appomattox—Personal Recollections*, by Joseph Packard; and *Hon. Daniel Dulany, 1685–1753*, by Richard Henry Spencer, are two contributions to be found in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

*The Dog's Hair Blankets of the Coast Salish*, by F. W. Howay; *Archibald MacDonald: Biography and Genealogy*, by William S. Lewis; a continuation of the diary of *David Thompson's Journeys in the Spokane Country*, edited by T. C. Elliott; and another installment of Edmond S. Meany's study of the *Origin of Washington Geographic Names* make up the contents of *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for April. Documentary material in this number consists of the proceedings of the Washington constitutional convention of 1878.

*A Self-effaced Philanthropist: Cornelius Heeney, 1754–1848*, by Thomas F. Meehan; *Centenary of Ohio's Oldest Catholic Church (1818–1918)*, by Victor O'Daniel; and *A Centennial of the Church in St. Louis*, by Charles L. Souvay, are among the articles in the April number of *The Catholic Historical Review*.

*A Report on the Archives in the Executive Department, State Capitol, Lansing*, is to be found in the *Michigan History Magazine* for April. Among the papers are the following: *Michigan in the Great War*, by Roy C. Vandercrook; *The Creation of the Territory*

*of Michigan*, by William L. Jenks; *History of Prohibition Legislation in Michigan*, by Floyd B. Streeter; *James Burrill Angell and the University of Michigan*, by Wilfred B. Shaw; and *The Pageant of Escanaba and Correlated Local History*, by F. E. King.

*Camp Zachary Taylor*, by Ella Hutchison Ellwanger; *The Hardins in the Footsteps of the Boone Trail*, by Faustina Kelly; and *More about Bathurst and the Family that Lived There and at Spring Garden*, by L. H. Jones, are three articles included in the contents of *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for May.

Among the numerous papers in volume ten, part three, of the *Annual Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California are the following: *What is Nationality?*, by Tully C. Knoles; *The Dispensing of Justice under the Mexican Régime*, by C. C. Baker; *John Bidwell: A Prince among Pioneers*, by Rockwell D. Hunt; *Thomas R. Bard and the Beginnings of the Oil Industry in Southern California*, by Waldemar Westergaard; *Larkin's Description of California*, by Robert G. Cleland; and *De Tal Palo Tal Astilla*, by H. W. Mills.

Among the contributions in the January-March number of the *American Anthropologist* are the following: *Further Considerations of the Occurrence of Human Remains in the Pleistocene Deposits at Vero, Florida*, by Oliver P. Hay; and *Certain Pre-Columbian Notices of the Inhabitants of the Atlantic Islands*, by W. H. Babcock.

*In Memoriam — Francis Asbury Sampson, 1842-1918*, is the subject of a biographical sketch by Floyd C. Shoemaker which occupies the opening pages in the April number of *The Missouri Historical Review*. There is a description of the celebration of *Missouri's First Centennial Day* at Columbia on January 8, 1918. Another installment of H. A. Trexler's study of *Missouri-Montana Highways* deals with the overland route. There is another section of *Gottfried Duden's "Report", 1824-1827*, translated by William G. Bek. Finally, there is the third article in Floyd C. Shoemaker's series on *Missouri and the War*.

*Conventionality in History*, by Gilbert G. Benjamin; *Internal Problems During the Civil War*, by Carl R. Fish; *Collateral Reading in Recent American History*, by Paul T. Smith; and *Some Geographical Aspects of the War*, by Samuel B. Harding, are articles in the April number of *The History Teacher's Magazine*. In the May issue, among others, there are the following papers: *The War — Its Practical Lessons to Democracy*, by Frederick A. Cleveland; *President Lincoln and his War-time Critics*, by Arthur C. Cole; *Historical Preparedness*, by Solon J. Buck; and *The American Civil War from the British View-point*, by Ephraim D. Adams. Among the numerous articles in the June number is one by Frederic L. Paxson on *The Spirit of Present History*.

*The Influence of Peculiar Conditions in the Early History of North Carolina*, by Paul B. Barringer; *Reminiscences of the Secretaries of State*, by Gaillard Hunt; *Historical Parallels*, by D. H. Hill; *The Influence of the Civil War on Education in North Carolina*, by Edgar W. Knight; *The South's Pension and Relief Provisions for the Soldiers of the Confederacy*, by William H. Glasson; *Medical and Pharmaceutical Conditions in the Confederacy*, by E. Vernon Howell; *The Raising, Organization, and Equipment of North Carolina Troops During the Civil War*, by Walter Clark; and *The Work of the North Carolina Historical Commission During the Past Year*, by R. D. W. Connor, are papers in the *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina*.

About seventy pages in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for April, 1917, are occupied by a valuable monograph on *Transportation — A Factor in the Development of Northern Illinois Previous to 1860*, by Judson Fiske Lee. Students of Iowa history will find much use for this study which has in part to do with the building of railroads from Chicago to the Mississippi River. Other contributions are: *Shall Indian Languages be Preserved?*, by Jacob P. Dunn; two articles on *The Lincoln-Thornton Debate of 1856 at Shelbyville, Illinois*, by D. C. Smith and Homer H. Cooper; an address on *Abraham Lincoln*, by Norman G. Flagg; *The Cath-*

*olic Bishops of the Diocese of Alton, Illinois*, by A. Zurbansen; *John Foster Leaverton, Soldier of the American Revolution, American Pioneer, and his Descendants*, by Nancy J. Leaverton Sale; and a letter describing *A Pioneer Farm House in Illinois*, written by Palmer D. Edmunds.

#### ACTIVITIES

The State Historical Society of Missouri held its fifteenth annual meeting on January 8, 1918. The preceding year witnessed a net increase of one hundred and thirty-five in the number of members of the Society — making the total number over twelve hundred.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held its annual meeting for 1918 in Lansing on May 28th and 29th. The program was patriotic in character.

Francis Asbury Sampson, who for many years was Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, died on February 4, 1918, at the age of seventy-six. Mr. Sampson rendered a great service to students of history by his work as a collector of materials relating to Missouri, and by his numerous writings on historical subjects.

A War History Commission, of which Dr. Milo M. Quaife, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is a member, has been appointed in Wisconsin to have general supervision of the collection of materials relative to that State's participation in the Great War. Committees have been appointed and organized in nearly every county to coöperate in this movement.

On Thursday, June 20th, the Historical Society of Marshall County unveiled a monument to the Pottawattamie Chief, Chem-euse, better known as Johnny Green, who for many years made his home near Marshalltown on the grounds now occupied by the Soldiers' Home. His friendliness and many services to the settlers gained for him the title of "the friend of the white man", and it is very fitting that his memory should be honored by a monument marking the place of his burial on a bluff overlooking the Iowa River.

The Madison County Historical Society held its fifteenth annual meeting at Winterset on April 30th. One of the interesting features of the meeting was the reading of a paper, written by Henry C. Wallace, telling of the life of his father, the late Henry Wallace, in Madison County. The following officers were elected for the coming year: Herman Mueller, president; John Anderson, vice president; E. R. Zeller, secretary and treasurer; and Blair Wolf, W. W. Gentry, Henry Hawk, and Ed. Hyder, members of the executive committee.

On May 11th occurred the formal dedication of the splendid new building of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul. In the afternoon there were brief addresses by Ralph Wheelock, Chairman of the Minnesota State Board of Control; J. A. A. Burnquist, Governor of Minnesota; Gideon S. Ives, President of the Minnesota Historical Society; Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa; Warren Upham, Archaeologist and former Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society; and Solon J. Buck, Superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society. At six o'clock a supper was tendered to the delegates and invited guests of the Society. Then in the evening the dedicatory address on *Middle Western Pioneer Democracy* was delivered by Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University. It was very fitting that these exercises took place on the sixtieth anniversary of the admission of Minnesota into the Union.

#### MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The eleventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in St. Paul on May 9-11, 1918, in connection with the dedication of the new building of the Minnesota Historical Society. The presidential address, by St. George L. Sioussat, was on the subject of *Andrew Johnson and the Homestead Bill*. Among the many interesting papers on the program were the following: *An Aboriginal Map of the Turtle Mountain Area*, by O. G. Libby; *Six Constitutions of the Far Northwest*, by John D. Hicks; *Popular Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas from 1854 to 1860*, by

William O. Lynch; *Missouri in the Kansas Struggle*, by Mary J. Klem; *Some Relations of the Upper Mississippi Valley with Lake Superior in the Civil War Period*, by Lester B. Shippee; *The United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians*, by Royal B. Way; *The Collapse of the Steamboat Traffic Upon the Mississippi: An Inquiry into Causes*, by Paul W. Brown; *The Evolution of Montana Agriculture in its Early Period*, by M. L. Wilson; and *The History of the Early Range Industry of the Upper Missouri Valley*, by Lewis F. Crawford.

Numerous hospitalities, in the form of receptions, luncheons, smokers, and an automobile tour furnished abundant opportunity for the making of acquaintances and the interchange of ideas. At the business meeting Professor Harlow M. Lindley of Earlham College in Indiana was elected president for the coming year. Mrs. Clarence S. Paine was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

#### THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Miss Ruth A. Gallaher, Library Research Associate in The State Historical Society of Iowa, received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the State University of Iowa in June. The Society now has in press a volume by Dr. Gallaher on *The History of the Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa*.

On May 11, 1918, Mr. B. F. Osborn of Rippey, Iowa, celebrated the completion of forty years of continuous activity as a druggist at that place. Mr. Osborn has for many years been a member of The State Historical Society of Iowa, and has recently been enrolled as a life member.

Two volumes have been distributed by the Society during the past three months, namely: *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858*, by Marcus L. Hansen; and a *History of Economic Legislation in Iowa*, by Ivan L. Pollock. The former is a book of two hundred and seventy pages, while the latter contains nearly four hundred pages.

Among the former members of the staff of The State Historical Society of Iowa who are now in the military service of the country are John C. Parish, Jacob Van der Zee, Clifford Powell, Odis K.

Patton, Ivan L. Pollock, Cyril B. Upham, Lewis H. Brown, Carroll B. Martin, Earl S. Fullbrook, John M. Pfiffner, and Marcus L. Hansen.

Three pamphlets in the series entitled *Iowa and War* which were issued by the Society in April, May, and June, respectively, are: *Border Defense in Iowa During the Civil War*, by Dan Elbert Clark; *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, by Dan Elbert Clark; and *The Mexican War*, by Cyril B. Upham.

Professor Louis B. Schmidt of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames spent the latter part of June and the first week in July in Iowa City, doing research work under the direction of the Society along the line of the history of agriculture in Iowa during the Civil War.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Hon. E. H. Hoyt, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. James E. Baldwin, Florin, California; Mr. H. E. Button, Alden, Iowa; Mr. John Clark, Cleveland, Ohio; Rev. G. S. Lackland, West Union, Iowa; and Mr. N. R. Whitney, Iowa City, Iowa.

The Society has recently sent out to the public libraries and local historical societies of Iowa a *Bulletin of Information* containing detailed suggestions relative to the *Collection and Preservation of the Materials of War History: A Patriotic Service for Public Libraries, Local Historical Societies, and Local Historians*. There is a general discussion of the subject by Benj. F. Shambaugh; and an enumeration of the various classes of materials for war history which should be preserved, compiled by Ruth A. Gallaher.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

Henry Adams, one of the best known and distinguished of American historians, died on March 27th. He was born in 1838.

Among the recent accessions of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress is the diary of a journey from Dakota across the Rocky Mountains made in 1853 by John Evans.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, the foremost historian of the Pacific Coast States, died near San Francisco on March 2, 1918, at the age of eighty-six.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Iowa State Bar Association was held in Des Moines on June 27th and 28th.

On March 13, 1918, at Los Angeles occurred the death of William Wick Cotton, one of the most prominent lawyers of the State of Oregon. Mr. Cotton was the son of Aylett R. Cotton and was born at Lyons, Iowa, in 1859. He went to Oregon when thirty years of age.

William H. Fahey of Perry, who was a District Judge in the Fifth Judicial District from 1911 to the time of his death, died on May 15th. He was born in Des Moines on July 31, 1872.

The thirty-second annual convention of the Iowa Bankers' Association was held on June 19th and 20th at Dubuque.

On May 5th occurred the death of W. W. Moore of Des Moines. Mr. Moore had been a continuous resident of that city for seventy-one years, or since 1847, when he reached the future capital of the State with only fifteen cents to his name. He is perhaps best known as the builder and owner of Moore's Hall, which was the scene of some of the most prominent theatrical and political events in the history of Des Moines.

A newspaper item states that at the next session of the General Assembly of Iowa an effort will be made to secure pensions for the surviving members of Captain Henry B. Martin's company of Frontier Guards, which was stationed in northwestern Iowa during 1858 and 1859 for the purpose of protecting the settlers against depredations by the Indians.

Mrs. Tacitus Hussey, who has been a resident of Des Moines for sixty-one years, died on May 19th. She was born in New York State in 1836.

Anson D. Bicknell, who for forty-one years has been one of the leading citizens of Humboldt, Iowa, died at his home in that city on April 20th. Mr. Bicknell served in the lower house of the Eighteenth General Assembly of Iowa, and was twice mayor of the city of Humboldt. He was born in Westmoreland, New York, in 1836.

A memorial fountain in honor of the late Mrs. Ellen C. Colby is to be placed in Taft's Park at Humboldt, Iowa.

Alfred N. Hobson of West Union, who has been a District Judge of the Thirteenth Judicial District for many years, died on April 11th, at the age of seventy years.

The annual picnic of the Old Settlers' Association of Mills, Pottawattamie, and Fremont counties was held at Tabor on July 4th.

Stephen Harris Taft, the founder both of the city of Humboldt, Iowa, and of Humboldt College, died in California on April 22nd, at the age of ninety-two. It was in 1862 that he came to Iowa and laid out the town which was later called Humboldt.

The history and literature section of the Ames Woman's Club, of which Mrs. L. B. Schmidt is chairman, is taking a great interest in the collection and preservation of materials relating to the history of Story County. Questionnaires have been sent out to a large number of the early settlers of the county in the effort to locate such materials and learn whether the possessor of such materials would be willing to donate or deposit them in some public depository within the county.

William E. Fuller of West Union died in Washington, D. C., on April 23rd at the age of seventy-two. Mr. Fuller received his education at Upper Iowa University and at the State University of Iowa. He was a representative in the Sixteenth General Assembly of Iowa, and was Congressman from the Fourth District of this State from 1885 to 1889. From 1901 to 1908 he was Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

Periodically the claim is made that a certain person was the first white child born in Iowa. It has recently been asserted that this distinction belonged to Mrs. Emily Morgan Hackett, who passed away late in May at Madison, Wisconsin. She was born in Dubuque County on October 16, 1834.

James S. Clarkson, one of the best known and most influential newspaper editors in Iowa history, died in Newark, New Jersey, on May 31st. From 1869 to 1891 he was editor of the *Des Moines Register* and in that capacity achieved a national reputation. He removed to New York in 1891. From 1902 to 1910 he was Surveyor of Customs in New York City, and for many years he has been a member of the national executive committee of the Republican party. He was born on May 17, 1842, in Brookville, Indiana.

## CONTRIBUTORS

DAN ELBERT CLARK, Associate Editor in The State Historical Society of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for April, 1915, p. 307.)

W. W. GIST, Professor of English in the Iowa State Teachers College since 1900.

LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT, Associate Professor of History in the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for October, 1912, p. 593.)



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## SOCIAL WORK AT CAMP DODGE

[In this monograph the author undertakes to describe social work as it has developed in military training camps in the United States, using Camp Dodge as a concrete expression of such work. The study was made during the spring and summer of 1918, and covers the period during which the Eighty-eighth Division of the National Army was in training at Camp Dodge. Since the departure of that division for overseas service a number of changes have been made in the camp itself and in the organization of the social work. Besides numerous visits to Camp Dodge the author has made use of all available sources of information. It is possible that some errors of description or statement may have found lodgment in these pages, due partly to the difficulty of presenting statically a rapidly developing organization.—EDITOR.]

### I

#### INTRODUCTION

The location of a training camp for men from the States of Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota provoked considerable rivalry among the competing cities—the contest finally narrowing down to Fort Snelling, Minnesota, and what has come to be known as Camp Dodge, near Des Moines, Iowa. So close was the contest that it was finally settled by an appeal to Secretary of War Baker, who favored the Des Moines location after the army board appointed for the purpose had decided for the Minnesota point. Undoubtedly the fact that Camp Dodge was located near a saloonless city and at the center of a prohibition State influenced the decision of Secretary Baker.

This final settlement of the location at Camp Dodge was made on June 27, 1917. A general cantonment fund of \$50,000 was promptly raised in Des Moines to aid in meeting all the requirements of the Federal government. To a combination of Des Moines contractors and builders was awarded the contract for the construction of the cantonment

—“the only case reported in which the gigantic building contract was entrusted to local builders.” The building of the camp was completed in the main between July 5th and September 30, 1917.

“In the early summer of 1917”, in the words of Johnson Brigham, “visitors at the Hyperion Clubhouse on the height overlooking Camp Dodge, twelve miles north of Des Moines, looking down from the porch upon the valley to the west and north, saw only a few buildings left over from the state encampment of 1916. Extending on beyond for miles lay the beautiful valley of the Des Moines River with its dotted furrows of corn, its drill-lines of grain and the emerald-green of grass with its brown-black setting of earth. In the November following, from the same viewpoint the scene had changed as if by magic, the transformation rivaling the miracles of *The Thousand and One Nights*. There, to the west and northwest, had sprung up a city with nearly two thousand buildings, all evidently designed by the same mind and hand,— rows on rows of barracks, here and there a mess-house with its kitchen; eight green-painted buildings and one large auditorium marking the well-directed efforts of the Young Men’s Christian Association to ameliorate the moral and mental condition of thousands of young men, many if not most of them for the first time separated from the comforts and delights of home. Brothering up to the central auditorium of the Y. M. C. A. was the recreation center of the Knights of Columbus. To the west was the building erected by the Lutherans. Across the street was the huge auditorium erected by the government for recreation purposes. To the west of this was the central library building, erected by the American Library Association in response to the urgent needs of the war department. Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, all came together in this most substantial of dream cities, and, with

not a trace of the old lines of cleavage, each factor recognizing the greatness of the problem, coöperating with all the rest in brave endeavor to solve it. There, too, was the staff hospital covering forty acres. There were stables for thousands of horses and mules, and hundreds of other buildings not easily identified at a distance.

"For three miles or more this city of men extended north and south with its 1,872 buildings, with its miles of smoothly paved streets over which, of a Sunday, two almost continuous lines of automobiles could be seen creeping along in opposite directions. The main avenue, on every Sunday afternoon, was lined with soldiers off duty and their relatives and friends and curious visitors strolling from one point of interest to another. The open windows of the barracks were alive with khaki-clad 'boys' sunning themselves and exchanging comments on the moving picture before them. In the open spaces were groups of athletic youths practicing football kicks and passes for future games. Sounds of vocal and instrumental music came from the Y. M. C. A. buildings, and exhilarating shouts of laughter rose from groups of men assembled on the cross-roads and in the miniature parks.

"The visitor went away from the scene impressed not only with the bigness and substantial nature of the cantonment, but also with the patriotic response of the American people to the draft upon their youths and young men, and the splendid material for future armies resulting from the government's experiment in 'selective conscription'."

Late in August, 1917, General Edward H. Plummer was appointed commanding officer of the Eighty-eighth Division of the National Army and placed in charge of the Thirteenth Divisional Cantonment at Camp Dodge. Entering immediately upon his duties, General Plummer expressed himself as well pleased with the progress made in

the construction and equipping of the camp. "One of his first questions was: 'What has been done for the entertainment of the men?' This was followed by other inquiries showing a keen interest in his charge, as for example: 'Are the shower-baths ready for them?' . . . . He early gave the public this gratifying assurance: 'No mother need fear that her son will be accorded anything but the best of treatment.'

"General Plummer strongly commended the work of the War Recreation Board at the camp and in the city. In a note to Secretary R. B. Patin, late in December, he said:

"'It is only a flash of reasoning to realize that what is being done for our recruits by the War Recreation Board is an inestimable blessing to individuals and a method of almost equal value from a patriotic standpoint, practically saving to the colors, to the civilized world, thousands of men in this time of need'."<sup>1</sup>

These remarks of General Plummer and his references to the welfare of the men call attention to a phase of the training of the new American armies which is unique in the emphasis placed upon the human welfare environment of the soldiers. In what President Robert A. Woods of the National Conference of Social Work so finely described as *The Regimentation of the Free*, "the truth has been rediscovered and far more broadly applied, which was first fully brought to light by Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War, that 'the cause of humanity is identified with the strength of armies'."<sup>2</sup>

As the result of his long and effective service with the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War, Frederick Law Olmsted gave as his opinion that the two things that did

<sup>1</sup> Brigham's *Iowa: Its History and Its Foremost Citizens* (Home and School Edition), Vol. II, pp. 753-761.

<sup>2</sup> Woods's *The Regimentation of the Free* in *The Survey*, Vol. XL, p. 395.

most to keep the soldiers well were music and letters from home.<sup>3</sup> A generation of social work has supplemented Civil War experience and has given a chance for experimentation and for the testing of many methods of dealing with social relations. During the World War constructive social workers have been given an opportunity on a vast scale to show the value of their efforts.

## II

### THE TRAINING CAMP COMMISSIONS

Social workers are largely responsible for the Commissions on Training Camp Activities, appointed by Secretaries Baker and Daniels, for the supervision of social and recreational work in the army and navy. The men in the national service have left their families, homes and friends, their clubs, churches and college gatherings, their dances, libraries, athletic fields, theatres and movies—all the normal social relationships to which they have been accustomed—and have entered a strange new life in which everything is subordinated to the need of creating an efficient fighting force. The task of these commissions, therefore, is to reëstablish the old social ties as far as possible, and to furnish a substitute for the recreational and social opportunities of home communities. They must socialize in the broadest sense the environment of military camps and training stations.<sup>4</sup>

The Commission on Training Camp Activities of the War Department held its first meeting on April 26, 1917, and the Navy Commission on July 26th of the same year. Raymond B. Fosdick was made chairman of both commissions which are sometimes referred to as the "Fosdick Commissions".

<sup>3</sup> Lee's *The Training Camp Commissions* in *The Survey*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Commission on Training Camp Activities*, published at Washington, D. C., pp. 3, 4.

Mr. Fosdick was sent to the Mexican border by Secretary Baker in the summer of 1916 to investigate conditions during the mobilization of the National Guard in connection with the threatening state of affairs resulting from revolutionary disturbances in Mexico. His report emphasized the need of social and recreational work for men in the army. Other well-known members of these commissions are Joseph Lee, President of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, John R. Mott of the Young Men's Christian Association, Charles P. Neill, formerly Commissioner of Labor of the United States, and the famous football players, Walter Camp and Malcolm L. McBride.<sup>5</sup>

The work of these commissions is divided mainly into three parts. One part is to exclude vice and drink from the vicinity of each camp and training station. This work has been in charge of Mr. Fosdick.

But the negative side is not the biggest nor the most important aspect of this social work at the camps. It is not enough that the government should "barely avoid the wholesale propagation . . . of physical disease and moral deterioration with penalties to be collected from the wives and children of such of them as may survive. America asks something more than that. The establishment of these training camps represents a great educational enterprise. These are our national universities for war purposes, schools to which the flower of American youth is being sent. It is our business to see that these men are turned out stronger in every sense—more fit morally, mentally and physically, than they have ever been in their lives. Unless that is accomplished it will have to be said of America, as of every other nation that has encountered the problem of the training camp, that we also have failed in its solution."

<sup>5</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 3-7.

The third great branch of the work of these commissions "consists of the mobilization of the social resources in the neighboring communities so as to be of the greatest possible benefit to the officers and men." This is the least visible, but in many respects the most interesting and most difficult part of the work. The educational and recreational activities have a certain definiteness, but to make the communities adjacent to the camps suitable places for the men in their leisure time is a great undertaking. It means social construction and reconstruction in comparison with which the actual material establishment of the cantonments is a relatively simple and definite proposition.<sup>6</sup>

A business man, who considers himself practical-minded, asked what place has a theatre in a training camp? What is the use of teaching men to sing and why bother with men's morals? The answer to the questions is to be found in the fact that already some of the directors of large industries "that are turning out munitions of war have asked the Commissions to take over their social problems in the same manner as they are handling those of the army and navy. They see in the work a value to be measured in dollars and cents."

Behind all the social work is the "one big purpose *to win the war*. It will be won by man-power and manhood, and the activities of the Commissions are directed towards their cultivation. . . . To make the men fit for fighting, and after, to bring them back from war as fine and as clean as they went, is just plain efficiency."<sup>7</sup>

The three great tasks of the Fosdick commissions cover two great fields of activity — one inside the camps and the other outside. Except where necessary they have not cre-

<sup>6</sup> Lee's *The Training Camp Commissions* in *The Survey*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 15-17.

ated any new machinery, but have made use of agencies already in existence. A large share of the club life and entertainment inside the camps has been directed by the Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus. The American Library Association has provided an adequate supply of books and reading facilities. The organization of the adjacent communities has been delegated to the Playground and Recreation Association of America, the Travelers' Aid Society, and the Young Women's Christian Association. Every organization already at work and able to give assistance has been brought in to help in its special field. The social worker has been given a chance on a large scale to show the value of his work.

### III

#### SOCIAL WORK INSIDE THE ARMY CAMP

The idea of club life in army and navy camps seems somewhat strange if not revolutionary; but this is one of the significant things for which the new government policy has provided. On Wednesday and Saturday afternoons the routine of military training is sometimes broken, and Sundays are of course regular holidays. Unless assigned to some special duty the fighting man is free after 5:30 P. M. until taps. It is a fact that leisure is the bugbear of the man away from home: successful traveling men say that their work would be one hundred per cent congenial if it were not for Sundays. This problem of occupation and activity during leisure time for the soldier and sailor is met in the cantonments and training stations by the Young Men's Christian Association and by the Knights of Columbus.

#### YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The Young Men's Christian Association was given recognition as one of the agencies for furnishing recreational

facilities because its experience on the Mexican border in 1916, in the military and prison camps of Europe during the present World War, and in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 to 1905 has fitted it to deal with such problems. In each of the National Army cantonments there are from nine to fourteen buildings, and usually at least six in National Guard camps. In each of the National Army cantonments these buildings include an auditorium seating three thousand.

"Over one hundred and fifty tents, 40 x 80 feet, and four hundred special outfits or equipments for Association purposes also have been provided. Each outfit includes, among other things, a piano, motion picture machine, phonograph, office supplies, postcards, pens, ink, pencils, stationery, reading matter, etc.— all free."

According to the latest information there are 178 army and navy stations at which the Young Men's Christian Association operates in nearly 600 buildings. At the smallest of these places there is only one secretary, while at the largest there are fourteen buildings each with a crew of secretaries. It must be remembered that the population of the cantonments is that of fair-sized cities — in some cases 50,000, and in many from 25,000 to 35,000. Adequate service requires that the buildings shall be distributed so as to be easy of access; they must be efficiently managed and the secretaries must be fitted to deal with the many different types, racial and personal, of the men who meet on the common ground for recreation, entertainment, and social enjoyment. The spirit that pervades these buildings and the smoothness with which they are administered is remarkable and can only result from a sympathetic understanding of men.

A typical bungalow usually contains a big fireplace, where on cold days a big log fire crackles cheerfully. The rocking-

chairs in the chimney corners are almost always occupied by men with books and magazines, and there is a pleasant aroma of tobacco burning in many pipes. Near the center of the room a victrola is pouring forth, perhaps some popular music, or it may be a grand opera selection. At the desks near the windows there are men writing letters. "It is estimated that more than a million letters a day are written by the soldiers and sailors on the stationery that is furnished free by the Y. M. C. A. . . . They get their stamps from one of the secretaries behind the desk, and mail their letters with him. From the same desk they buy money-orders, over three quarters of a million dollars a month in the aggregate."

Part of the equipment of many of the buildings is a small auditorium where "amateur vaudeville entertainments, Bible classes, movie shows, basketball games, song services and sparring matches" are conducted. Besides these smaller halls there are, in the larger camps, auditoriums with a seating capacity of from 2000 to 3000 people. It is the central place for the big Young Men's Christian Association events and is in addition to the "Liberty Theatres" built by the commissions. Here are held the entertainments, lectures, and other events that draw men from all parts of the camp. During January, 1918, the total attendance at these events in all the camps was 3,253,838. With but few exceptions no admission is charged.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the camp auditorium is the largest single consumer of moving-picture films in the country, operating over 500 machines in the cantonments of the United States, running from one to six nights a week, and using from 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 feet of film during that time.

<sup>8</sup> *Commission on Training Camp Activities*, pp. 7-9; Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 24-32.

## KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

Similar activities are carried on by the Knights of Columbus, which, like the Young Men's Christian Association, served the soldiers along social lines on the Mexican border in 1916. One organization represents roughly sixty per cent of the army, while the other represents about thirty-five per cent. These agencies, however, hold no meetings to which all the troops in the camps are not invited regardless of religious or other preferences. The Knights of Columbus now have about 150 buildings in operation in American camps and a fifth more under way or authorized. There are about 500 secretaries in service and about 65 volunteer chaplains. The cost of the welfare work of this organization thus far amounts to about \$7,000,000.<sup>9</sup>

## THE JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

The Jewish Welfare Board has erected fewer buildings in the camps, but it provides social, educational, and religious programs. It looks after about 75,000 men of Jewish faith and has sent 150 workers to the different camps. There is the closest coöperation with the Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus. More than one hundred local branches have been organized in different places to interest Jewish people in the work and to obtain the necessary funds.

Personal service forms a large part of the work of these three organizations. They are effectively bridging the gulf between the soldiers and their environment. These camp clubs are not closed most of the time, as are the churches at home. No one needs to dress up to enter them. The soldier writes his letters, plays his games, and sees a movie in the same place in which he listens to a sermon, and sings the

<sup>9</sup> *The Sioux City Journal*, July 6, 1918; *Association Men*, Vol. XLIII, p. 196.

hymns he learned in his childhood. At home the church never fitted into daily life in any such way. No one ever thought of dropping in "to smoke and chat, to write a letter to his sweetheart, to laugh at Charlie Chaplin, to see a couple of local champions spar for the honors of the ring." These organizations supplement the work of the chaplains; they show that "organized friendship" is worth while because it makes better fighters.<sup>10</sup>

#### BOOKS FOR THE SOLDIERS

During the Civil War no systematic provision was made for books for the use of the army and navy. A few books were sent to the hospitals in and around Washington and in a few northern cities, but in the main the men depended almost entirely on *Harper's* and *Frank Leslie's Weekly*. The Connecticut regiments were fortunate exceptions, since libraries were a part of the regimental equipment from that State. These libraries were placed in strong portable cases with a written catalogue and proper regimental labels. They were in charge of Professor Francis Wayland and were on a great variety of subjects and of good quality.

The demands of the newer methods of warfare are much more exacting. Books upon technical subjects must be within the reach of the soldier: they are necessary for training as well as to occupy leisure moments. As Mr. Fosdick tells us, this war is "a modern science which the men must learn by studious application to the problems of drill and trench. They acquire the habit of study, of application, in the training camp of to-day." Normal life can not be provided for soldiers and sailors in training without arrangements for the adequate distribution of good reading matter. Upon the entrance of the United States into the war, the American Library Association appointed a War

<sup>10</sup> *The Sioux City Journal*, July 5, 1918; Odell's *The New Spirit of the New Army*, p. 23.

Service Committee which made its first report in June, 1917. When these plans became known the Commission on Training Camp Activities invited the Association to assume responsibility for providing library facilities in the camps.

The Secretary of War appointed ten men and women of national reputation as a library war council. It was decided to raise by private subscription a million dollars with which to carry on the work. The financial campaign resulted in raising the amount asked for and half as much again. A campaign for books, conducted at the same time, brought in over 200,000 volumes for immediate use.

It was planned to purchase books of a serious character, since it was thought that fiction and books of the lighter sort would be largely supplied by gift through the book campaign — which was to be a continuous one for the duration of the war. The Carnegie corporation gave the money for thirty-two camp libraries, and an anonymous donor built the building at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station. Each library cost \$10,000.

In October, 1917, Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, became general director of the library war service with headquarters in the Congressional Library at Washington. Here every effort is made to supply the needs of the various camps, to get the greatest result at a minimum of expense, and to avoid unnecessary complications in classification and cataloging. There is ordinarily no catalogue of fiction; and non-fiction, which represents the expenditure of considerable money, is only roughly classified. The charging system is so simple that the men themselves can charge the books they take out. The emphasis is upon circulation and use of books rather than upon exact classification and security from loss.

The library buildings are plain wooden structures built after a plan designed by E. L. Tilton, a well-known library

architect who contributed his services. Although the plan called for a building 120 by 40 feet, the length of the structure was in some cases reduced to 93 feet. The library buildings are located near the center of the camps and near the transportation lines. The interior consists of one large room with two bedrooms at one end. There are open shelves for about 10,000 volumes, and tables and chairs are provided for about 200 readers. The first library building to be opened was at Camp Lewis, Washington, on November 28th; by the end of December, 1917, all but one of the structures were completed. Many obstacles were met in erecting these buildings: wages and prices for materials had greatly increased, freight was seriously congested, and contractors and laborers were leaving the camps after the completion of their work. Much of the equipment in these libraries will be of service after the war in the establishment of new public libraries.

Besides the central library in each camp there are branches at the Young Men's Christian Association and Knights of Columbus huts, in the post exchanges, and at the base hospital. At these places soldiers get books at any hour of the day or evening, and the "honor system" is used under which books can be charged by leaving a memorandum on the book-card. In addition to the branches, which number from eight to twenty in each camp, and where from 500 to 1500 books are placed, library deposit stations containing from 50 to 100 books are established in the barracks and mess rooms. Sometimes there will be a hundred or more of these stations in a camp.

Some of the librarians are volunteers, while others are paid a small salary in addition to subsistence. A paid assistant is also provided with subsistence. The total cost, including janitor service and the expenses of local volunteers, amounts to about \$250 a month for each camp library.

— about \$100,000 a year for this part of the work. Each camp library is supplied with a low-priced automobile with delivery box attached for the distribution of books within the camp.

The question is frequently asked, "What do the men read?" Of course fiction holds the first place because one of the major purposes of the libraries is to tide over unoccupied time and to furnish pleasant and wholesome relaxation. But next to fiction come books of pure and applied science. Men are facing unaccustomed tasks and they do a great amount of reading and study to fit themselves for their new duties. Books on machinery, gasoline engines, aëroplanes, electricity, and chemistry are in constant demand. The men realize that they are soon to meet serious problems upon the solution of which their own future and that of their country depends. Army life furnishes a tremendous incentive to study, which accounts for the great enthusiasm for reading that is displayed in the use of the library facilities.

There are in the camps many foreign-speaking men who must learn to understand, read, and give orders in English; and there are others, entirely illiterate, who must be taught to read and write. Still others have never had the privilege of access to books and must be taught how to use them. At the other extreme are 45,000 students from 576 colleges. In Camp Devens in Massachusetts there were 695 college men from 27 New England institutions, who found themselves messmates of former mill operatives from the textile cities of New England. These men have exerted a strong influence upon each other. The presence of so many college men means a call for kinds of books not needed by men who have had less opportunity for education. There is a leveling up rather than the generally accepted theory of a leveling downward in the army camp. The far-reaching

importance of camp libraries can hardly be exaggerated.

Mr. Burton E. Stevenson, the novelist who is librarian at Camp Sherman, Ohio, had "some very plausible theories about the kinds of books the men would want; but he soon discarded them. We have had requests here for every sort of book, from some books by Gene Stratton Porter to Boswell's 'Life of Johnson' and Bergson's 'Creative Evolution'. We have had requests for Ibsen's plays; for books on sewage disposal; and so many requests for 'A Message to Garcia' that I had a supply mimeographed. In one building there were so many requests for books on religion and ethics that we set up a small reference collection. Broadly speaking, of course, most of the men read fiction; exciting, red-blooded fiction-detective stories, adventure stories, and so on. But there is also a steady demand for Conrad, and Wells, and Hardy, and Meredith. Poetry is also in demand, and good books of travel go well. . . . We don't care for unattractive, cheap editions, with yellow, muddy paper and flimsy binding. We want attractive books — nice, clean copies of good editions — and the more of these we get the better service we can give the men."

Finally, the purpose of the camp library work, like that of all the affiliated organizations, is "to help win the war, and to help in the great work of reconstruction after the war. . . . The camp libraries contribute their share to both these ends. They help to keep the man more fit physically, mentally and spiritually, and prepare such as shall be spared for greater usefulness after the war. Good reading has helped to keep many a soldier up to his highest level; it has aided in the recovery of many a wounded man. It has helped to keep him cheerful, and to send him back to the firing line with renewed determination to win or die bravely in the attempt."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Koch's *War Service of the American Library Association*, pp. 5-26; Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 84-99.

## SINGING IN THE CAMPS

Singing in the army has a distinct military value. Emphasis is not laid upon it in military textbooks; but a good deal is said about morale and esprit de corps, upon both of which singing has a great influence. A hundred years ago when American shipping was found on every sea, the sailors sang their chanties as they pulled on the ropes or tugged at the windlass. The chanties were recognized as an aid to man power. Often the words were "sentimental or dramatic . . . as ungodly as the men who sang them—but they smacked of the salt sea, they promoted good feeling among the crew, and they were an energizing influence." It is natural for men to sing when they come together; for singing is a means of self-expression and it is also relaxation and stimulation. If singing in the army and navy needs any other justification than its inspirational significance, it is only necessary to mention its physical effects.

In the opinion of Major-General Leonard Wood, "it is just as essential that the soldiers should know how to sing as that they should carry rifles and learn how to shoot them. Singing is one of the things they all should learn. It sounds odd to the ordinary person when you tell him every soldier should be a singer, because the layman cannot reconcile singing with killing. But when you know these boys as I know them, you will realize how much it means to them to sing. There isn't anything in the world, even letters from home, that will raise a soldier's spirits like a good, catchy marching-tune."

Another officer is quoted as saying: "It is monotony that kills the men off. A man gets tired of drill, tired of doing the same thing in barracks, even tired of getting shot at. We need company leaders to teach the men new songs; we need instructors to show the men how to get up their own

minstrel shows and dramatic entertainments. Everything that can be devised by way of wholesome amusement toward breaking up the monotony is a direct help in making better soldiers and keeping the standards high."

Singing has long been understood to be an aid to efficiency, but it remained for the Commissions on Training Camp Activities to develop it in the army and navy for that purpose. There was appointed a National Committee on Army and Navy Camp Music to supervise the work. Under its auspices a conference of song leaders was held to compile a collection of songs that would contain what the greatest number wanted to sing. The result was the little volume of *Songs of the Soldiers and Sailors* — the first song-book ever published by a government. For such a book the need was apparent, since without a collection of songs, soldiers and sailors from different parts of the country would not know the same songs when they came together. The book is on sale at the post exchanges in all the camps — at the price of five cents for soldiers and ten cents for civilians.

Song leaders or coaches have been appointed by the commissions in the various camps and cantonments. These men are civilians who are given the standing of commissioned officers. They get results chiefly through personality and by inspiring enthusiasm. One day a song leader on a trip through a camp noticed a squad of tired men pulling stumps. In his small car he carried a folding organ and some white oil charts on which were the words of the most popular songs. After a hurried consultation with the officer in charge, the song leader started the men singing. In a few minutes he had the men singing; and twenty minutes later he left them yanking out stumps with renewed vigor. Different divisions of the army and navy men have regular times for singing under the direction of the leaders. Mass singing is valuable in filling in periods of waiting.

The men sing on the march, in their barracks, and between acts at the Liberty Theatres.

Less attention is paid to the matter of what the men sing than to the more important consideration that they sing. The greater part of the songs are not classical: sometimes they incline towards the "rough-house", and yet when you hear them sing the "Battle Hymn of the Republic", you feel no misgivings as to the sentiments of the singing fighters. These soldier songs have a swing and rhythm which appeal to everybody. I have seen a camp song leader get such a staid gathering as the National Conference of Social Work so interested in singing that they were unwilling to stop and take up the regular program.

The songs range from the national anthem to "Send Me a Curl." Among them are such favorites as "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny", "Silver Threads Among the Gold", "Dixie", and a few of the best-known hymns. We have a singing army and a singing army is a winning army.<sup>12</sup>

#### ATHLETICS

Another thing that is being done inside the camps is the development of athletics. This work for the army is under the direction of Dr. Joseph E. Raycroft, professor of hygiene in Princeton University; similarly, Walter Camp, the famous Yale football authority, is in charge of athletics in the navy. The government through the two commissions has been encouraging and directing athletics in more than thirty-five army camps and half as many naval stations.

The organization and conduct of the work in each camp or station is delegated to men of experience, many of whom have been star athletes in their college days. These men were at first civilian aids on the staffs of the commanding officers, but later many of them were commissioned as

<sup>12</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 64-83; *Commission on Training Camp Activities*, pp. 15, 16.

officers in the army. There is close coöperation between them and the athletic representatives of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus who are working in the camps. Ultimately it is intended "that every company shall have an officer in charge of games and athletics — presumably a lieutenant — and a standardized box in its supply tent containing volley-ball, basket-ball and baseball outfits, a set of quoits", and some other similar equipment.

Of course the primary purpose of all the athletics is to train the men to be better fighters, although incidentally there is recreational value in these activities. To state it differently it may be said that the aim of athletics in the army and navy is to make men fit to fight and to *keep* them fit.

Special emphasis is laid upon boxing because of its intimate connection with bayonet fighting. A committee, headed by James J. Corbett, has been appointed by the War Department commission to advise on this matter. Boxing instructors have been appointed in nearly every large camp, and they have trained groups of men to assist them. In many camps from two hundred to four hundred of these assistant instructors have been developed and are giving lessons. Frequent contests are held; and to standardize the instruction and to give the men a better idea of the work, moving pictures have been made to demonstrate the fundamental principles of boxing and the elements of bayonet practice. Nearly every blow and position in boxing has its counterpart in bayoneting. Sometimes boxing lessons are given to a thousand men at one time by these moving pictures which are explained by a man on a high stand.

Besides the better known sports — such as football, baseball, and basket-ball — a great variety of games are engaged in. These vary according to the location of the camp

and according to the season of the year. Provision is also made for competitive athletics to foster the teamwork and to generate enthusiasm. One Western cantonment has sixteen baseball diamonds laid out in one big field; another camp has twenty-six football gridirons with a seating capacity of 18,000. "Multiply the enthusiasm of a single game by twenty-six, and consider its effect on the morale of participants and the enthusiasm of spectators". As an indication of the public interest aroused, it is only necessary to add that one football game between teams representing two Western camps brought in gate receipts of \$40,000.

There is one phase of camp athletics which deserves special attention because it has not been developed by the colleges — the laughter-producing games. One of these games — swat tag — is especially popular with the men. Twenty or thirty men form a circle facing the center, with their hands behind their backs, palms up. The man who is "it" holds a cotton-stuffed canvas bag about eighteen inches long by two inches thick. As he walks around the circle he places the bag in the hands of one of the players who immediately strikes at his neighbor on the right. The idea is for the man on the right to race around the circle and back to his place before he is struck. It develops extreme physical alertness and puts every man on his toes to avoid being "it".

Another game has the same boyish fun combined with real military value. A man stands in the center of a circle and swings a twelve-foot rope with a weight on the end as rapidly as possible. Each man has to jump as the rope approaches him, and if he does not jump high enough, his legs get entangled and he is thrown to the ground. The game seems simple, and it is simple; but the men get hysterical with laughter from the results of playing.

Other games, such as leap-frog and prisoners'-base, now forgotten by their younger brothers, are played with real joy by the men in camp. Men whose boyhood ended all too soon have an opportunity to play as they never played before.

There are over a million men now systematically engaged in athletics in the camps in the United States. Never before have so many men played football, baseball, basketball, and soccer, boxed, and taken part in track and field athletics. Never before has the physical welfare of men received so much attention. College athletics have chiefly developed the exceptional man: army and navy athletics develop the mass.

When the work began the opinion prevailed that a soldier could be made by putting a man in uniform and teaching him the manual of arms. Experience has proved that athletics increases a man's fighting efficiency and incidentally gives him the wholesome recreation which helps to keep him fit. The soldiers who play and laugh make better fighters. This is one of the discoveries of American military training.<sup>13</sup>

#### LIBERTY THEATRES

Uncle Sam, like a wise guardian, believes in making home attractive for his fighting men. Through the War Department commission he has provided each of the sixteen National Army camps with a theatre, having a seating capacity of three thousand and a stage upon which plays classed as "Broadway productions" can be shown. These Liberty Theatres are modern in every respect, and many of the foremost theatrical stars are booked for them. Inside of these buildings it is hard for a man to realize that he is in

<sup>13</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 40-63; *Commission on Training Camp Activities*, pp. 12, 13; Lee's *The Training Camp Commissions in The Survey*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 5.

camp, which is the effect aimed at by the commission in developing the plan.

A committee of theatrical managers, with Mr. Marc Klaw of Klaw and Erlanger as chairman, is helping in the selection of talent and in the booking and management throughout the camps. As in all its undertakings the commission has called in experts to assist in the development of its projects.

An admission charge of not more than twenty-five cents is made, from the proceeds of which expenses will be paid; and any balance left over will be used to finance non-revenue-producing activities within the camps. The plan is to make the admission just sufficient to cover running expenses. The so-called "Smileage Books" are used by the men to pay their admission. These are books of coupons, issued in dollar and five dollar sizes, each one containing from four to twenty admissions. These books form a welcome and pleasant gift from civilians to their soldier relatives and friends.

One function of the Liberty Theatre is to furnish the necessary relaxation which in some form must be found by the men. It is safe, inexpensive, and wholesome. The other function is to help the boys make their own good times by exploiting all the talent found among the men themselves. The commission aims to secure a man for each theatre who has had experience in coaching amateur dramatics — preferably in colleges for men. This dramatic coach will search out and develop talent among the men themselves. In this way the commission is trying to make the men self-amusing, so that when they get to France and do not have the facilities for outside theatricals, they will be able to entertain themselves. The Liberty Theatre, therefore, has a direct and positive place in the training of the men who are to make the world safe for democracy.

In addition to its use for theatricals by outside and home talent, the more important athletic exhibitions, lectures, and movie shows will be staged in the theatres. Big sings with the song coach leading and with three thousand performers form another phase of its use. These theatres are equipped with projection machines, and the best and latest "feature" films are shown. The films are carefully censored; but the censorship does not interfere with adventure, wholesome sentiment, and good humor. As in the case of plays and music, choice is not confined to the "high-brow", classical, or educational: the effort is made to give the men exactly what they need for relaxation, and what they would get under normal home conditions, barring, of course, anything demoralizing and degrading.

It must be remembered that all the events at the Liberty Theatre are in addition to the entertainment furnished by the Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus. Nor must we overlook the fact that many thousand men are to be provided for, and that even the rather elaborate arrangements described are by no means sufficient to accommodate all the men in the larger camps. Dependence must still be placed upon activities outside the camps. At the same time it should be said that never before, and nowhere else, have such large and systematic plans for the amusement of any communities been made.

In general, no concessions to private amusement enterprises are granted within the camps. In a few cases where access is not to be had to amusements in neighboring cities, concessions have been given for motion pictures and vaudeville in privately erected theatres within the camps. A percentage of the profits go to the post exchange, and the entertainments are under the close supervision of the military officers.

Camp Funston at Fort Riley, Kansas, is one of the few

exceptions. It has the largest number of troops of any of the camps, and it is located at a considerable distance from any town large enough to provide amusement for numbers of men on leave. To meet this situation, concessions were granted to private amusements in a special zone. Here are four blocks of enterprises such as soldiers patronize when they go to town. Being under careful supervision, they are superior to those usually found in the neighboring communities. "There are three theatres, including a motion-picture house seating 1500, a stock-company theater with a capacity of 2000, and the Liberty Theatre. The billiard and pool hall has 150 tables, and it is not uncommon for all of them to be in use at once. There are restaurants, soda-fountains, cigar-stores, and even a bank; and there are a dozen other kinds of shops, among them a meat market where the soldiers can buy a slice of ham for a sandwich or a whole steer for a barbecue".

The success of these efforts to furnish suitable entertainment in the camps is shown in the case of one of the Southern cantonments, where, according to the commanding general, seventy per cent of the men could have had leave from camp during a definite period, and only thirty per cent made use of the privilege.<sup>14</sup>

#### POST EXCHANGES

Post exchanges are the series of stores, approximately one to each regiment, where the soldier may purchase any of the small articles, like tobacco, handkerchiefs, soap, and candy, that contribute to his comfort and content, and which are not provided by the government. There are from eleven to sixteen exchanges in each camp and there is a division exchange officer selected by the commission, who, under the direction of the commanding officer, has general

<sup>14</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 103-110; *Commission on Training Camp Activities*, pp. 17-19.

supervision of all exchanges. Any profits made in the exchanges are expended in a way decided upon by the votes of the men in the regiments.

The exchanges are not a new institution in military life. Their beginnings go back to the Civil War when civilians, known as "sutlers", followed the armies and sold the men whatever they could be induced to buy. Profit rather than any interest in or advantage to the soldier was the object. Few of them failed to make good profits and rarely did they stay long at one place.

Following the Civil War came the opening of the West and the establishment of the "post trader" at army posts. The post traders were civilians; and here again profit was the principal motive. The sale of liquor was permitted and it gradually became the chief article sold. Early in the seventies the occupation of post traders was abolished and the "canteen" was established under government direction. Here began the sharing of the soldier in the profits. Beer and light wines were sold and the profits went into the company mess. The canteen continued under these conditions till 1901, when the sale of liquor was prohibited, and the name changed to "post exchange", with the scope much wider than the old canteen and with care for the personal needs of the men. In this form they have continued to exist in the Regular Army posts and National Guard camps.

The establishment of the sixteen new National Army cantonments put up to the War Commission an exceedingly difficult problem. Under existing regulations each unit made arrangements for its own exchange, securing funds for fixtures and stock by gift from the proceeds of a baseball game or by subscriptions among the men. Such methods were not suited to the new situation which required that supplies and equipment for a number of stores in each camp should be purchased immediately.

Clarence A. Perry of the Russell Sage Foundation, whose specialty is social centers and who had had experience at Plattsburg, worked out a plan with the aid of expert military advice, which was adopted by the commission. Its chief features included "the purchasing for all the post exchanges in the country . . . . by the commission itself instead of by each regiment post exchange in some hap-hazard way; in providing money so that the purchases can be made at once instead of waiting until the men get their first month's pay; and in having a post exchange officer in each camp and for each army division."

The first stocks for the National Army post exchanges were purchased on from sixty to ninety days' time from merchants who believed in the soundness of the project from a business point of view. Centralization of control and management that had not previously existed were made necessary by the new plan. The commission enlisted the services of business men of tested ability who were given commissions with the rank of captain. These men include "captains of industry" who have left large business enterprises to help the government give the soldiers a place to shop. They have established chains of stores that compare favorably with those maintained by any private corporation. Beginning with no capital the post exchanges in a remarkably short time were doing a prosperous business and paying dividends on a large scale.

The post exchanges at the National Army cantonments are housed in long, low buildings, about forty by one hundred feet, stocked with all sorts of articles that appeal to the young American man who likes to drop into an accustomed place, smoke a cigarette, discuss the baseball score, or hear the latest local news. Each exchange is in charge of a company officer, usually a lieutenant, assisted by a steward and four or five privates. Candy is on the whole the most

popular of the articles sold, although there are variations in demand to be noticed in the different camps. At Camp Meade, Maryland, a huge cake costing fifteen cents, which is a meal in itself, is most in demand. Again, it is estimated that each exchange at Camp Devens, Massachusetts, sells one thousand pints of milk daily. In the more elaborately stocked exchanges, besides the usual amount of eatables and notions, there are pennants and cushions, a clothing department, a book-and-magazine section, a novelty gift counter, and a jewelry counter. Engagement rings can be purchased through the exchanges and both officers and men avail themselves of the opportunity.

Moderate prices prevail in all the exchanges as a matter of course. Articles never cost more than in city stores and often less. Officers' boots, for which merchants were asking \$26.00 in a neighboring town, were sold for \$16.80 in one of the exchanges — the cost plus five per cent profit. Officers do not share in the profits, but they are, of course, benefited by the lower prices and their purchases help to swell the total amount of business. And yet, in spite of and possibly because of the moderate prices, the exchanges make money. Many exchanges do a business of nearly a thousand dollars a day; and when one remembers that there are from eleven to sixteen in each cantonment, it is easy to calculate that the trade of a year mounts up into millions of dollars. Three months after beginning business the exchanges of one cantonment had large and complete stocks fully paid for, a surplus of \$200,000, and were paying dividends.

The profits of the post exchanges go into the company and regimental funds, and are expended by the councils composed of commissioned representatives from these organizations on what seems to be most necessary for the units. Formerly with a twelve cent a day ration allowance for enlisted men, the money was spent to add to the mess.

Now with a forty cent allowance, the larger part of the money goes for extra living comforts, athletic equipment, musical instruments for the band, and sometimes for a tobacco fund to be used for smokes in France where cigarettes are more difficult to get. Spending money for company dinners and dances is another way of disposing of exchange profits.

These exchanges, constituting as they do "the largest chain of department stores in the country", are another noteworthy development of the social vision of the commissions. They are a distinct contribution to the possibilities of coöperation in the United States. Their success suggests some interesting observations about our communities outside of the camps. If coöperation produces profits at prices lower than competitive ones in the exchanges why can not the principle be applied in retail trade generally, and thus help to solve the problem of the increasing cost of living? Why can not business be socialized in the interest of the people, as it has been socialized in the National Army cantonments in the interest of the soldiers? Why must we wait for a war to compel us to try to solve the problems that we already had with us before the war came?<sup>15</sup>

#### EDUCATIONAL WORK

The need for educational work in the camps is easily realized when one considers that men of all sorts and conditions have been gathered by the selective draft. They come from the colleges, stores, factories, and farms. Some come from remote mountain districts. Some speak and write English; and some can only express themselves in one of many foreign dialects and languages.

<sup>15</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 138-155; *Commission on Training Camp Activities*, p. 14; Lee's *The Training Camp Commissions in The Survey*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 5.

A soldier must understand the orders of his officers; he must find his way about the camp by means of signboards; and a knowledge of arithmetic is of great advantage to a man who would become a good marksman.

So small is the proportion of illiteracy at the camps that the greatest need for elementary education is among the foreign-born soldiers — especially among those who have lived in colonies of their own people and who have come to this country when they were beyond the legal school age. Lacking the actual need for English in making a living, they have failed to learn it. Another contingent of illiterates comes from the mountain districts of the South.

The War Department commission has appointed a committee on education of which Dr. William Orr is chairman. Other members of this committee are Dr. P. P. Claxton of the Bureau of Education, Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, President of the University of Chicago, and Dr. John H. Finley, President of the University of New York. Use is made of university extension courses, and particularly of the educational department of the Young Men's Christian Association. The committee is ready to avail itself of any educational machinery which can be adapted to its use.

Most important in the line of educational work is, of course, the teaching of English to foreigners, and for this purpose the books and methods already worked out for teaching English to foreigners outside of the camps are used. Instruction, which is of a very practical sort to meet the requirements of daily life, includes the names of camp features, food, clothing, and, most important of all, military commands. At the same time an effort is made to instruct the men in regard to the meaning of democracy, and to give them an idea of what they are fighting for.

But education in the camps goes a long way beyond the elementary stage. There are other courses which explain

the history and sources of the war. Technical courses are given with a view to preparing men for transfer from one branch of the service to another and for promotion. Such courses are mathematics, report-writing, bookkeeping, stenography, typewriting, telegraphy, telephony, engineering, navigation, warehousing, and scientific management. There are in addition college-grade courses that appeal to university men and enable them to continue their studies.

Finally, there is French which in this war is certainly an asset to the fighting man who gets to France. In some camps French is compulsory for selected groups of officers and men, and in all it is a popular study. Courses in the French language and in geography enable the soldier to acquire a vocabulary of from six hundred to seven hundred words and a knowledge of French geography and customs which will be of great help to him abroad as a soldier and will fit him to appreciate more fully his opportunity for observation.

Instructors are recruited from various sources. Many men in the ranks are capable of teaching French and other subjects. Men and women from neighboring towns volunteer their services; and a large proportion of the remaining instructors are officers or Young Men's Christian Association secretaries.

According to the latest information there are over 100,000 men enrolled in educational classes in the camps, the larger percentage being students of French. The number is growing, justifying the characterization of the army and navy as "the larger university". In all of the educational work the library plays a very important part, especially supplying books for supplementary reading. The coöperation of the library and the Young Men's Christian Association has resulted in the development of an unique system of education for the American soldier and sailor. Military

training is supplemented by necessary and practical training along so-called literary lines.<sup>16</sup>

#### HOSTESS HOUSES

To provide a pleasant and respectable place for women who visit the camps in search of relatives, friends, and sweethearts was the primary purpose of the hostess house. Coming in large numbers very few of such visitors have any idea of camp conditions. Without assistance or guidance many pitiable and distressing results are likely to occur. The urgency of the need was brought to the attention of the War Council of the Young Women's Christian Association last June, when the situation at the Reserve Officers' Training Camp at Plattsburg, New York, was laid before it. As an outcome the council agreed to coöperate with the commissions by opening hostess houses in the camps when requested to do so by the commanding officers. The council appropriated \$1,000,000 for the purpose out of the \$5,000,000 fund with which they began their wartime activities. The first hostess house was ready for work late in June, 1917, and was for the use of the training camp at Plattsburg.

Similar work had been carried on by the Young Women's Christian Association at the San Francisco Exposition in 1915 in behalf of the women visitors. In addition they had maintained a separate building for the comfort and pleasure of the women who took part in the Exposition—the jugglers, acrobats, snake-charmers, freaks, and fortunetellers among others.

During the trouble upon the Mexican border in 1916, the Young Women's Christian Association sent women to three of the chief towns near which troops were quartered. There they established such branches of work as seemed most nec-

<sup>16</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 156-168; *Commission on Training Camp Activities*, p. 20.

essary to meet the abnormal social conditions among the thousands of young girls and women who had flocked to the vicinity of the mobilization camps. The experience of the organization in safeguarding the interests of women during fifty years of peace had fitted it to deal with such emergencies.

When from thirty to sixty thousand young men are brought together in a training camp, there is nothing the majority of them are so anxious for as to see their families and friends. A comfortable place where they may visit with mothers, wives, and sweethearts gives a new meaning to life for them, and they go back to their man-made world with new courage and with renewed energy for their work.

The hostess house is always built in an accessible place near the main entrance to the cantonment or near to the most centrally located railroad station. The buildings are large bungalows, varying in size, according to the needs of the camp. They have been designed and built under the supervision of women, and every effort has been made to attain the greatest degree of attractiveness inside and out.

All the houses are much the same as to their main features. Everywhere the center of things is the big chimney in the middle of the big living room, with a double fireplace in which log fires burn when needed. There is a parcel check room, and a rest room for women with a well-equipped nursery adjoining it. A cafeteria serves excellent food at moderate prices, and this is the only part of the service for which any charge is made. The buildings are electric lighted and steam heated; and there are usually broad sun parlors extending across two sides.

Some of the staff meet the trains to make sure that no woman is left to wander about the camp alone in search for her soldier; and there is coöperation with the Travelers' Aid Society representatives who meet trains at the rail-

road stations in the neighboring towns and cities. Thus everything possible is done to render assistance to the visiting women, and to protect them from annoyance and trouble. The secretaries are "sympathetic and tireless in the mere routine of entertaining visitors. This alert personal interest, with never a suggestion of intrusion into the privacy of a family gathering, accounts . . . . as much as the inviting interior of these houses for their being christened 'the home spot of the camp'.

"Here is a new handling of the human equation in the training of fighters, a matter that has always been the concern of the great masters of warfare, but which has never before been worked out to this degree. It cannot fail to have a salutary effect on even the crudest personality that comes within its influence. It helps to clarify the ideas and the ideals of democracy, the principles for which these men of ours are fighting."

At first the idea of the hostess house was not regarded with much favor by army men. Some of the older officers in particular declared that to have women in the camps was the last thing they wanted. But as soon as one house was opened, all opposition disappeared; very soon the commission was receiving indignant letters from commanding officers who felt that they had been discriminated against because they had no hostess house at their camps. Thus the partnership of women in the war has been officially recognized.

Nearly a million dollars has been spent in building and equipping hostess houses. About seventy are either in operation, in process of construction, or already authorized.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 111-137; *War Work Bulletin*, February 5, 15, May 31, 1918; *The Camp Dodger*, March 23, 1918.

## IV

## SOCIAL WORK OUTSIDE THE ARMY CAMP

The hostess house forms a link between the soldier and the world of which he was a part before he was summoned for military training: it fills its place admirably and contributes to the happiness and contentment of the soldier by giving him an opportunity to meet the home folks, and especially his women relatives and friends under pleasant and proper surroundings. But for most soldiers these visits can be only occasional. Most of their social life and their women friends must be found in the neighboring communities during their time off from military duty — hence the great importance of the mobilization of the social resources of the nearby towns and cities.

## CAMP COMMUNITY SERVICE

Formerly camp community service was left to take care of itself, but in the present war this work has been intrusted by the Commissions on Training Camp Activities to the Playground and Recreation Association of America. To all places located near camps or cantonments, this organization sent out members of its staff with instructions to help to mobilize the hospitality of the community to aid the men of the army and navy in a systematic and efficient manner. Commercial clubs, rotary clubs, fraternal organizations, Young Men's Christian Associations, churches, and organizations of a similar character were informed concerning what could be done to make their localities attractive and safe for our fighting men.

The War Camp Community Service, the name under which this city and town work is organized, has covered over two hundred communities and now has over one hundred and thirty secretaries in the field linking up the interests of the soldiers and neighboring districts. Thousands

of volunteer workers are making the service possible. Cities that last summer were discussing what the cantonments would do for them are now asking what they can do for the soldiers. A sense of social responsibility has been aroused in these communities under the patriotic impulse of the war.

To meet the reasonable demands of week-end leaves of absence of about a million and a half of normal American young men who are living the rest of the time under strict military regulations is the problem of community organization. First of all the men want to go to town, look up friends, and arrange for amusement. They want a change of food, and they long particularly for home cooking. But suppose that they are a long way from home and know no one in the city near the camp; and suppose also that they have only a five-dollar bill to spend. What do you imagine they would do? What would you do in their places? Wouldn't you feel blue and lonesome? And might you not be tempted to try to forget yourself in ways you would never think of if you were at home and among friends whom you knew cared for you?

The War Camp Community Service has evolved a system to meet these needs. Census cards are obtained through the aid of the commanding officers of the camps with information as to each man, giving his name, church, fraternity, college, profession or business, special interests, and favorite forms of recreation. This data makes it possible for local committees or individuals to put something personal into their hospitality. Persons with similar interests, with common college, church, or professional affiliations can be brought together. The social resources of a given community can be used intelligently and efficiently.

One of the first things done is to open clubs where a man's uniform is the only credential needed. Soldiers' and sail-

ors' clubs have been established everywhere in the vicinity of the camps, and many of the larger cities maintain a number of them. Maps, guides, and bulletins are published, giving information as to the community itself, its opportunities for sight-seeing and recreation, and making suggestions about what to do and where to go. A map and guide issued by the Chamber of Commerce of Kansas City has the following announcements:

Your Community Club is located at 1305 Walnut. . . . The Club is for you, your relatives, and friends. Home cooked food. No charge for pool, shower baths, laundry and pressing facilities or shaving equipment. Plenty of games, music and stationery.

The Club has been opened in order that you may have a home while in Kansas City. Use the place as your own home.

You will enjoy the accommodation and privileges provided. Meet your friends and spend your leisure hours at the Club Rooms.

There are many places of interest in Kansas City for you to see — many private homes open to you. Ask the manager of the Club how you can have the best time while here. He can give you many good suggestions.

The Club is furnished and maintained by the people of Kansas City working with the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities.

Another suggestion for making the soldier's holiday pleasant and recreative is contained in the "take a soldier home to dinner" slogan. Within five blocks of a club in New York more than three hundred enlisted men were invited to private homes last Thanksgiving. On one Sunday in a single community five thousand men were taken home for dinner. A Chicago man entertains twenty-five men every Saturday afternoon. These invitations give the men not only the home cooking they miss so much, but also home thinking and home talking for which they long probably even more. It means a chance to enjoy the things they lack under conditions that help and uplift.

Still another method has been used in many communities. New York City entertained fifteen hundred soldiers and sailors every Saturday night last winter at New York's largest dancing palace, where they could meet young women under properly regulated conditions. Infinite tact and care are needed to handle such affairs, but it is pleasant to record that not once was there any serious abuse of these opportunities. The thought of those in charge has been that these men are "going over to fight for us, and our best is none too good" for them. It means real democracy in social relations.

The War Camp Community Service is based upon the knowledge that the hours allowed for recreation are apt to be misused. In the modern city, of the young people who go wrong the largest number are in search of amusement. There are forces at work to undermine the health and the morals of the men who are to fight the battles of democracy. The Commissions on Training Camp Activities have set up competitive forces with a view to giving the men healthful, interesting recreation while they are away from camp. "The way to overcome the temptations and vices of a great city" is "to offer adequate opportunity for wholesome recreation and enjoyment." If you want "to get a firebrand out of the hand of a child the way to do it" is "neither to club the child nor to grab the firebrand, but to offer in exchange for it a stick of candy!"<sup>18</sup>

In regard to the problem of the control of vice and drink in the neighborhood of camps and training stations, the United States government, upon entering the war, determined to adopt a policy of absolute repression, and this program has been carried out with such success that it "has actually reduced to so small an amount vice and drunken-

<sup>18</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 169-190; Commission on Training Camp Activities, pp. 21-23; Baker's *Frontiers of Freedom*, p. 91.

ness in our army and navy, that it is a fair statement that civilian America will have to clarify its moral atmosphere if it is to take back its young men after the war to an equally wholesome environment."

Under authority given by the Selective Draft Act, approved May 18, 1917, the President was authorized "to make such regulations governing the prohibition of alcoholic liquors in or near military camps and to the officers and enlisted men of the army as he may from time to time deem necessary or advisable." Not only was the Secretary of War authorized, but he was "directed" to do everything "by him deemed necessary to suppress and prevent" prostitution "within such distances as he may deem needful of any military camp, station, fort, post, cantonment, training, or mobilization place."

Soon after the passage of this act, Secretary Baker sent a letter to the governors of all the States in which he declared his determination that the new training camps, "as well as the surrounding zones within an effective radius", should not be "places of temptation and peril. In short our policy is to be one of absolute repression, and I am confident that in taking this course the War Department has placed itself in line with the best thought and practice that modern police-experience has developed.

"The War Department intends to do its full part in these matters, but we expect the coöperation and support of the local communities. If the desired end cannot otherwise be achieved, *I propose to move the camps from those neighborhoods in which clean conditions cannot be secured.*"

The Commissions on Training Camp Activities were charged with the responsibility of carrying out the program of suppression. A division of law enforcement was established, consisting of a staff of civilians and army and navy officers, mostly lawyers, built up under the personal super-

vision of the chairman, Mr. Fosdick. Representatives of the division were stationed in the communities near the camps, and were instructed to keep the authorities at Washington informed of moral conditions, and also to bring the policy of the government to the attention of local officials. In the preliminary work of gathering information, assistance was given by representatives of the Department of Justice, the army and navy intelligence departments, and by private organizations already engaged in the repression of vice and drink.

Such a program obviously required the coöperation of local officials throughout the country. This coöperation was only obtained after some rather rigorous handling of certain local authorities who either did not believe the government really intended to follow a policy of absolute repression or who were ignorant of conditions in their home communities.

By September, 1917, there was not a "red light" district within five miles of any important military or naval training station in the United States: more than twenty-five such districts had been closed. Moreover, the cleaning up process has extended throughout the country, until by May, 1918, over seventy "red light" districts had been destroyed. Forty-five of these districts were not in the immediate neighborhood of camps, and consequently did not come under Federal control. Their abolition was the result of the response of State and municipal authorities to the policy of the commissions.

According to official estimates the venereal disease rate has been reduced fifty per cent since the beginning of the war, while our military strength has been increased many times over. Increasingly stringent regulation of the sale of liquor has rapidly diminished the danger from that source. One camp reported but four drunk in six weeks.

Of course, it is impossible for the government to prevent absolutely any liquor from getting to the soldier, but "the man in the service, if he wants a drink, will have to hunt for it."

The campaign against vice and drink is a continuous one. Representatives of the division of law enforcement are located near every camp, and investigations are constantly in progress. Local agents are supervised by district representatives. Any indication of neglect or reaction is promptly dealt with by trained workers.<sup>19</sup>

That the community must be protected against the soldiers as if they were a lot of wild animals was the old idea; but the new socialized view is that the soldiers must be protected against the community. The community must clean up to make itself a fit place for the soldiers to spend their leisure. Absurd stories about vice surrounding the camps have been circulated from time to time, but these reports have never had any real basis. Dr. Joseph Odell, in his study of *The New Spirit of the New Army*, states that he would rather intrust the moral character of his boy to Camp Hancock, Augusta, Georgia, than to any college or university he knew. "This does not cast any unusually dark shadow upon the educational institutions of the country, but they have never possessed the absolute power to control their environment that is now held by the War Department".<sup>20</sup>

A related problem grows out of the presence of many young women and girls in the communities in the vicinity of cantonments and the evil consequences that may result from the glamour that the uniform seems to have for them.

<sup>19</sup> Allen and Fosdick's *Keeping Our Fighters Fit*, pp. 191-205; Commission on Training Camp Activities, pp. 25-27; Johnson's *Eliminating Vice from Camp Cities* in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 60-64.

<sup>20</sup> Odell's *The New Spirit of the New Army*, p. 65.

So important has this problem proved to be that a special committee has been appointed to plan protective work in every locality adjacent to the military camps. This committee on protective work for girls, of which Miss Maude Miner of New York was made chairman, coöperates with the War Camp Community Service and with the Travelers' Aid Society.

In places nearby the camps trained workers are stationed who undertake to protect young women and girls. Much personal service is given and every legitimate device is used to occupy the young people in healthful and wholesome ways. Provision is made for the meeting of young men and women under careful supervision, and only when positive and constructive methods have failed and when disaster has actually occurred, are other measures taken to meet the situation.<sup>21</sup>

The hostess house, the War Camp Community Service, and the Travelers' Aid Society coöperate with the protective work for girls and young women to counteract the lure of the uniform and to remove pitfalls from the pathways that lead to the old, old story of love and youth.

## V

## SOCIAL WORK AT CAMP DODGE

Camp Dodge was fortunate in its first commanding officer, General Edward H. Plummer, "a splendid representative of the 'new' army, a strict disciplinarian and at the same time a big-hearted friend of the soldier." He early took occasion to find out what had been done for the entertainment of the men, whether the shower baths were ready and whether the food supply was ample. He made it plain that he was vitally interested in the human welfare of the men under his control, and that he believed that happy and con-

<sup>21</sup> *Commission on Training Camp Activities*, p. 28.

tented men made the best soldiers. He also expressed his hearty approval of the work of the War Recreation Board. Such a sympathetic attitude assured to every branch of social work, inside and outside the camp, every reasonable opportunity and encouragement during General Plummer's term of service.

The buildings for recreational, educational, social, and religious purposes are grouped in a civic center on Depot Street, which is located in a central and accessible point in the cantonment near the inter-urban station, at which a majority of the people who visit the soldiers are likely to alight. Here are the library, hostess house, Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, and Lutheran Brotherhood buildings, and the Liberty Theatre.

#### YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION AT CAMP DODGE

Only two of the Young Men's Christian Association buildings are in the civic center — the administration building and the auditorium which is used for the larger meetings and which has a seating capacity of from three thousand to thirty-five hundred. The other eight buildings are scattered through the camp and serve as Association headquarters for the different brigades. For a few weeks before the different buildings were completed, a "big top" tent was pitched just north of Division Headquarters.

Some idea of the extent of the work of the Association is obtained from statistics. At one of the buildings 70,000 sheets of writing paper and about 50,000 envelopes were given away in one week to soldiers, who also spent \$186 in the same building in a single hour for stamps and picture post cards of Des Moines and Camp Dodge.

Each of the brigade buildings has a large room 50 by 120 feet in size, capable of seating about a thousand persons, besides a smaller room for social activities with facilities for writing, books and magazines, newspapers, a large fire-

place, a piano, a phonograph, and other equipment for recreation. There are also smaller rooms for committee meetings and for women visitors, and quarters for the staff of six men. Each building has a moving picture machine; and postal and money order agencies are provided. By July, 1918, it was expected that \$40,000 would have been expended for this work.

At every building there is something going on every night in the week. Motion pictures, lectures, and musical entertainments are arranged. There are classes in French, civics, history, and mathematics. The Association aims to bring to the soldiers as many as possible of those influences which in civilian life made them stronger and better men.

The supervision of all the work in the cantonment is in the hands of a camp secretary and three camp directors specializing in religious, educational, and recreative activities respectively. These activities at Camp Dodge are similar to those conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association in other places and have developed out of their experience in serving the needs of fighting men in many different countries and under a great variety of circumstances.

During the month of March, 1918, it is estimated that 355,065 men used the different buildings. In the same time there were fifty-eight educational lectures in the eight brigade buildings; 1065 educational classes met, 9062 books circulated from the libraries, and 401 religious meetings were held. There were also 108 movie shows and 164 entertainments of other kinds. Letter writing by the soldiers, for which the Young Men's Christian Association furnishes materials free, is one of the most popular occupations. During the same month 441,450 letters were written and money order sales amounted to \$27,128.57.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, September 21, October 5, 1917, April 20, 1918; *The Des Moines Register*, June 14, 1918.

## KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS AT CAMP DODGE

The Catholics at Camp Dodge, estimated at from ten to twelve thousand, are taken care of by the Knights of Columbus, which has erected three buildings for its work. The main or headquarters building is at Main and Depot streets, there is one at Seventh Street and Des Moines Avenue, and one on Thirty-fourth Street. These buildings were ready for use early in December; before their completion, use was made of the Young Men's Christian Association accommodations. The Knights of Columbus buildings are similar to those of the Red Triangle and the uses are similar. Each building has a staff of four secretaries.

About \$40,000 has been spent on this work for Catholic soldiers. The accommodations have been found inadequate to handle the large crowds that have to be provided for. Plans are being made for the enlargement of the buildings in the near future.<sup>23</sup>

## LUTHERAN BROTHERHOOD AT CAMP DODGE

Early in December a large and comfortable building on Depot Street, erected by the Lutheran Brotherhood at a cost of \$15,000, was opened. The structure, which is 60 by 150 feet, contains a large social room and an auditorium seating a thousand persons. It is used in much the same way as the other buildings provided by religious organizations.

Plans are under way by the Lutheran Brotherhood to raise a national fund of \$750,000 to carry on war work in military camps. According to the Brotherhood officials there are already over 200,000 Lutherans in the army and navy and more are constantly being added. Iowa's quota of the national fund is estimated at \$50,000.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, October 5, December 21, 1917, March 23, 1918.

<sup>24</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, December 7, 14, 1917, February 23, 1918.

## JEWISH WELFARE WORK AT CAMP DODGE

Jewish soldiers at Camp Dodge have a club established for them by their co-religionists of Des Moines at 715 Grand Avenue, where provisions are made for dancing, entertainments, pool, music, reading, and writing. In January, 1918, this Jewish welfare work was extended to the cantonment through the location there of a field secretary, who makes his headquarters at one of the brigade Young Men's Christian Association buildings. He may be reached every afternoon and evening during the first five days of the week. To Jewish soldiers he extends an invitation to call upon him for advice, information, and suggestions of any kind.<sup>25</sup>

## HOSTESS HOUSE AT CAMP DODGE

Very early in the fall of 1917 preparations were made for the building of a hostess house at Camp Dodge. General Plummer encouraged the undertaking and coöperated with the Young Women's Christian Association in every way possible. Katharine C. Budd, the New York architect who built the hostess house at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, had charge of the construction. At a cost of \$20,000 the building was completed about the middle of January.

Besides the larger public rooms on the first floor, there are upstairs four bedrooms for women who have men very ill at the base hospital and who must be near them; an emergency relief or hospital room is ready to deal with cases of sudden illness; and a mothers' and babies' room is equipped for the use of women with small children who have left home hurriedly without the necessary articles for the proper care of their children. In addition there are, of course, quarters for the resident staff which consists of six persons — the hostess director and the social, emergency, cafeteria, information, and business hostesses.

<sup>25</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, January 4, 1918.

The house-warming or formal opening took place on the afternoon of February 22, 1918, although the building had been in actual use for several weeks. The occasion was arranged in honor of General Plummer who had just returned from France. The hours were from three to five and all citizens and soldiers were invited. General and Mrs. Plummer and General and Mrs. Getty received the guests.

The popularity and serviceableness of the house is suggested by the statistics of its use, although much of its work can not be reduced to definite figures. One hundred and eight women were guests during the first four weeks, and in four months three hundred were entertained from one to many nights according to the seriousness of the illness of the patients whose lives they were watching. During the first three weeks 3500 persons were served in the cafeteria. Besides the three meals each day, including Sundays, there are also afternoon and evening lunches — the latter being especially popular with men who are in the civic center neighborhood after theatre and other entertainments.

Every day new men discover the house as a place to which they may come without the supposedly necessary excuse of having a relative or other woman visitor. Always they express regret that they did not know about it earlier. Not only, therefore, is the house a place for women visitors to the camp, but it is a place to which men may come for advice or just for a chance to see and talk to a woman — a real privilege to men who live in the exclusively masculine environment of the cantonment.

During the first six months of its operation nearly 1000 women were given lodgings and 83,000 persons were served in the cafeteria. One Sunday in June 1500 meals were served and 9000 guests entertained; on another Sunday 99 gallons of ice cream were consumed. The house has been

used for all sorts of purposes — including five weddings.<sup>26</sup>

Work upon a hostess house for colored women was begun in May at the south end of the cantonment where the colored troops are stationed. It will not be as large as the one on Depot Street, but it will have all the conveniences of the first house with some improvements that have grown out of experience in actual service. Three secretaries will be employed to begin with and additions will be made as needed. The urgent necessity for such a house has been shown by the frequent requests from colored women made to the Young Men's Christian Association building located in that part of the camp.<sup>27</sup>

#### THE LIBRARY AT CAMP DODGE

The Camp Dodge Library on Depot Street was opened about February 1, 1918, with more than 7000 volumes of fiction, history, and technical subjects ready for distribution. When all orders have been filled there will be approximately 15,000 books upon the shelves for the use of soldiers.

It is the aim of the library to keep supplied with all available books upon the war — especially upon its technical side. The library has upon its subscription list more than forty-five current magazines, many of them devoted to subjects of interest to soldiers. Newspapers from all the larger towns of the States from which men come are on file.

Books may be taken out for seven days and the building will be open from ten in the morning to nine in the evening every day in the week. In addition to the issue of books from the library itself, boxes of fifty volumes are placed in hospital wards and in company barracks. The Young

<sup>26</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, October 26, December 21, 1917, January 18, 25, February 15, July 19, 1918; *Inklings*, published by the Young Women's Christian Association of Des Moines, Vol. XIV, No. 5; *War Work Bulletin*, February 5, 1918.

<sup>27</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, March 9, May 17, 1918.

Men's Christian Association and Knights of Columbus buildings are also used as distributing agencies, or as branch libraries: 1000 volumes are kept at each of these places, and frequent renewals are made.

The library building, costing \$8000, is similar to those built at the cantonments by the American Library Association. There are three men upon the library staff.<sup>28</sup>

#### EDUCATIONAL WORK AT CAMP DODGE

In the latter part of June, 1917, a conference was held between the National University Extension Association and Mr. William Orr of the National War Council of the Army Young Men's Christian Association to ascertain what assistance could be obtained by the latter organization in its educational work in the camps from the university extension divisions.

Immediately after this meeting President W. A. Jessup sent O. E. Klingaman, director of the Extension Division of the State University of Iowa, to interview Secretary Baker in order to find out what could be done to mobilize the educational forces of Iowa for the purpose of rendering some help to the men in the cantonment to be located near Des Moines. The interview took place on July 6th: and the Secretary of War referred the matter to Mr. Fosdick. In the plans proposed by Mr. Klingaman was an offer from the University to teach through its extension division conversational French to the enlisted men, to give a somewhat more formal French course to the officers, and by means of lantern slides to present the geography of Europe with especial emphasis upon the Western front and upon the social and economic phases of French life.

Late in July Mr. Fosdick decided to turn all educational work over to the Army Young Men's Christian Association.

<sup>28</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, February 1, 1918.

Mr. Klingaman was authorized to organize the work at Camp Dodge and to select an educational director to be approved by representatives of the Young Men's Christian Association. Professor Arthur C. Trowbridge of the Department of Geology at the State University of Iowa was chosen as educational director.

On August 6, 1917, a conference, called by the Iowa State College, met at Ames to consider educational work at Camp Dodge. Representatives were present from educational institutions in Iowa, Nebraska, and Minnesota. At this meeting a resolution was adopted which offered the educational resources of the several colleges and universities represented for educational purposes in the army camps to which troops from these States might be sent. The resolution also requested the Iowa State Board of Education to appoint "an educational director to coördinate the educational resources of these colleges and universities and to coöperate with the educational agencies in these camps." Mr. Klingaman was appointed director by the State Board of Education. Changes in the distribution of the men sent to the army camps prevented the broader plan of coöperation from being worked out.

Naturally French classes were very popular among both officers and men. French instruction was placed in the hands of F. R. Le Roux of Minneapolis, who has had many years of experience in teaching French. He had charge of officers' classes in French conversation and of normal training classes which prepared soldiers to teach their comrades. Three other experienced French teachers have been employed for the conduct of classes, and they have been assisted by fifty officers and enlisted men.

At one time in the winter there were five hundred officers and twelve hundred enlisted men in the French classes. During March there were sixteen French classes for officers

with an enrollment of 210, seven normal classes with 52 members, and fifty-three classes for enlisted men with an attendance of 1760. Uninterrupted instruction was impossible, for troops came and went, and classes had to be organized, broken up, and reorganized almost continuously.

With the arrival of the first men in the fall of 1917 the need for instruction in English became apparent. The problem was not so serious at Camp Dodge as in some of the other camps, but a good many men were found unable to read and write English. Most of these men were foreigners, but some were Americans who had had almost no schooling. The large contingent of colored men from the South was characterized by a high percentage of illiteracy.

The organization for the teaching of English was begun by Professor Walter Myers of the State University of Iowa. Later he entered an officers' training school and the work was continued by others. For the month of March there were nineteen classes with an enrollment of 211 among the foreign and illiterate white troops. During the same month there were twenty classes among the colored men with an enrollment of 1758.

Early in June, 1918, a divisional order was issued, requiring those men in the camp who had "not gone to school above the fourth grade and those not able to speak, read or write English" to attend classes for the study of English. Instruction in citizenship was made obligatory by the same order for all foreigners in the cantonment. Plans for carrying out these orders include regimental schools which will be organized by the chaplain of each regiment working in coöperation with the educational secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of each brigade. Men who are in need of instruction will be detailed to attend three nights a week for sessions of one and one-half hours.

A general test has been devised by which the men who

are eligible for attendance at these classes can be found. It consists of the filling out of a blank, asking for the name, company, regiment, and schooling of the soldier, and a short specimen letter. These blanks will also be of assistance in grading men and in selecting teachers.

Besides French and English classes there was during March instruction in the following subjects:

Typewriting	26 classes with an enrollment of	213
Shorthand	3 classes with an enrollment of	36
German	5 classes with an enrollment of	40
Animal Husbandry	3 classes with an enrollment of	1200
Automobile Shop Work	1 class with an enrollment of	15
Clerical Work	1 class with an enrollment of	32

Including French and English there were, during March, a total of 159 classes with an enrollment of over 5000.

Professor Trowbridge resigned late in May to take a place in the Personnel Bureau of the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association. He was succeeded by Mr. H. L. Eells, formerly of the rural education department of the State Teachers College and recently educational secretary at one of the brigade buildings.

Undoubtedly the splendid work done by Professor Trowbridge in directing and organizing the educational work at Camp Dodge was a reason for his appointment to the new position. The educational work at the cantonment has been of an especially high calibre. The instruction in French has resulted in the publication of a book by Professor Le Roux on *Conversational French*, which has been used at Camp Custer, Michigan, and Camp Travis, Texas, as well as at Camp Dodge.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, February 1, March 23, 30, May 31, June 7, 1918; letter from A. C. Trowbridge to O. E. Klingaman, dated April 1, 1918; information furnished by O. E. Klingaman in regard to the activity of the Extension Division of the State University of Iowa in educational work at Camp Dodge.

## RED CROSS ACTIVITIES AT CAMP DODGE

For a number of months Red Cross activities at Camp Dodge were confined largely to supply work, the divisional athletic director, John L. Griffith, acting as field director. By Christmas, 1917, it appears that 15,000 sweaters, costing approximately \$80,000, had been distributed. In addition to the sweaters, 13,000 pairs of knitted socks, costing \$25,000, about 9000 pairs of wristlets, worth \$9000, about 4500 mufflers, worth \$9000, and about 600 helmets, costing \$1800, had been distributed among the soldiers. Furthermore, 12,000 Christmas packages were given out at the Young Men's Christian Association buildings on Christmas eve. Delicacies and gifts were distributed to soldiers who were patients at the base hospital. The total expenditure of the Red Cross from the opening of the cantonment to the end of 1917 was estimated at upwards of \$150,000. All the supplies were sent from the central division headquarters at Chicago.

During March, 1918, Mr. H. S. Hollingsworth, General Secretary of the Associated Charities of Des Moines, was appointed Associate Field Director to have charge of home service: he began his work on the 20th of that month. Mr. Hollingsworth coöperates with officers, with the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Lutheran Brotherhood, the Jewish Welfare Board, and the chaplains. His services are intended to improve the morale of the soldiers by helping them to keep in touch with home and family conditions, and also by relieving the anxiety of relatives as to the whereabouts and condition of soldiers at the camp. Home service undertakes to render the same kind of service that is given by the civilian relief committee of the local chapter, with this difference that it is undertaken from the camp end. It works with the local chapter wherever possible, and endeavors to relieve the soldier of

home cares and worries, thus enabling the men to devote their best energies to their training as soldiers.

The report upon home service for August, 1918, gives an excellent description of the character of the work. Thus, the number of new cases dealt with was 212 compared with 176 during July. The total number of cases from March 20th to August 31st was 689. During August the work was made exceptionally difficult by the departure of the Eighty-eighth Division and the preparation for the organization of a new division. Every day new men came into the camp by the train-load; for several weeks these men were stationed in the large tent city adjoining the main camp. Under such circumstances the location of a single soldier often required as many as ten or twelve calls. A large number of cards explaining home service were posted in conspicuous places throughout the camp in order to inform new men as to where to go with their home problems.

Illustrations of camp home service during August indicate the nature of the work. A mother who had not seen the boy who had been stolen from her in his childhood hastened across the continent and spent five happy days with him at New York. The coöperation of the secretary of the civilian relief committee of the Joplin, Missouri, chapter with the camp service brought about this remarkable reunion. An account of the incident was published in *The Camp Dodger*, and copied in a Des Moines paper as well as in a Minneapolis daily.

A soldier who had been in the base hospital was worried about the digging of his potato crop. He also had a claim of \$160 which his attorney thought he could collect if he were at home. Through the home service the matter was taken up with the commanding officer of the man's company with the result that he secured a furlough for a few days.

Another soldier was vexed because his wife, who was

soon to be confined, went home to her mother instead of remaining in Des Moines where he could see her a few times each week. He also feared that he would not be able to finance the coming event. He was talked out of his irritation and was assured that the Red Cross would give him the needed assistance in the form of a loan. At the proper time he made arrangements for a furlough. This man is grateful to the Red Cross for showing him the situation in the proper light.

One of the most distressing cases of the month was that of a soldier whose wife was sick at the home of her brother in Missouri. Checks from the government had not begun to arrive; there were no relatives able to give any assistance; and the woman was almost destitute. The soldier had sent her almost all of his pay and in addition had borrowed money from his comrades to send her. He was assured that the Red Cross would give proper care to his wife.

The extent of Red Cross work at Camp Dodge, as it has developed with the growth of the cantonment, is shown by the number of buildings required to provide for the varied activities. Headquarters have been located in a small building near the corner of Depot Street and Des Moines Avenue, but will soon be moved into a new building which is almost ready for occupancy. The new quarters will have a large waiting room, a general office, and two private offices. Five bedrooms will be provided for the use of the staff, which consists of the field director, associate and assistant field directors, and several assistants and stenographers.

Besides the headquarters building, there are three others near the base hospital, which serve especially the needs of patients, nurses, and visitors to that institution. Red Cross supplies are kept in a large storehouse near the head-

quarters, and these to the amount of \$40,000 to \$50,000 are constantly on hand.<sup>30</sup>

#### LIBERTY THEATRE AT CAMP DODGE

Liberty Theatre at Camp Dodge was opened Wednesday evening, February 6, 1918, with a home talent production of "Rip Van Winkle" which was presented to an audience of 2500. According to *The Camp Dodger* both the show and the theatre made a decided hit with the men. This theatre is like all the other theatres maintained by the War Department in the various camps throughout the country. It has a local manager who attends to all matters pertaining to its use. Prices do not exceed twenty-five cents, and smileage books are used in securing admission. Regular bookings are made for theatrical companies; home-talent productions are staged; and moving pictures are shown. The aim is to provide good amusement of a kind suited to the soldiers' needs and wishes at moderate prices. No profits are necessary since the theatre is planned to pay expenses only.<sup>31</sup>

Besides the Liberty Theatre, located near the center of the cantonment, there is a theatre under private management at Herrold, a little town at the north end of the camp. Herrold was a little crossroads community grouped about a post office before it was absorbed into Camp Dodge. It owes its life and development to the patronage of the soldiers. The theatre is the chief amusement attraction, but in addition there are a pool and billiard hall, three eating places, agencies for two wholesale grocery houses, a store selling military supplies and clothing, and a drug store.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, December 28, 1917, March 30, April 13, May 17, August 16, 1918; report of Home Service Section, Camp Dodge, for August, 1918.

<sup>31</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, February 8, 1918.

<sup>32</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, January 25, 1918.

Near the southeast end of the camp two similar groups of amusement, eating, and supply places have grown up — Dodge City and Army City. Dodge City contains the Trilby Theatre which offers movies and other attractions to the southern end of the camp as do the Herrold and Liberty theatres to the other sections. All the private enterprises are, of course, under strict supervision, and are additional to the provisions made by organizations working within the camp proper, or arranged for by the government staff.

#### ATHLETICS AT CAMP DODGE

Recreative athletic work at Camp Dodge has been in charge of John L. Griffith of Drake University, who was appointed Divisional Athletic Director late in September, 1917. The plans, outlined by the director and approved by the commanding officer, provided for the appointment in each company of an athletic officer to supervise and be responsible for the athletic work of the company. An athletic council made up of company representatives is responsible for the regimental athletic and recreational program. Representatives from each regiment form a divisional athletic council which, with the director, plans the work of the camp as a whole.

During the first few weeks the time allowed for athletics, usually from four to five in the afternoon, was devoted to the promotion of mass athletics and games in the companies. Later football teams were organized and regular championship games were played.<sup>33</sup>

By the end of October athletics began to assume definite form; arrangements had been made for a systematic and regular course for each man. Several companies had organized football teams and inter-company games had been played. A day of field sports was held as a fitting

<sup>33</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, September 28, 1917.

close to the second Liberty Loan campaign. Over 20,000 soldiers assembled and watched the various events. Each regiment and battery had its own program. Regimental bands were present, and under orders from General Plummer every man not on guard or police duty reported at the meet. The field day was the first result of the new athletic management at the camp. Undoubtedly it was the largest field meet ever held in Iowa.

Athletic training is also supplemented by work in boxing and wrestling. Mike Gibbons, a well-known boxer, was appointed instructor in boxing; while Earl Caddock, a champion wrestler, became instructor in wrestling. Assistant instructors are trained by Gibbons and Caddock for each platoon of every company, and they in turn train the men.<sup>34</sup> The director and his assistants are also aided in their work by the physical directors of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus.

According to the plan a box of athletic equipment is provided for each company. Each box contains six baseball bats, twelve balls, catcher's mitt, mask and protector, six association footballs, two Rugby footballs, two sets of quoits, six playground balls, four playground bats, two medicine balls, three official's whistles, one rubber patching outfit, ten sets of boxing gloves, official rulebook for baseball, soccer, volley ball, and basket-ball. Money to pay for these boxes — each of which costs \$136 — has been raised in a variety of ways. The Iowa State Council of National Defense has urged county councils in the States from which men come to equip a company with one of the boxes. Receipts from athletic games and exhibitions have been used for the same purpose. By the middle of April, 1918, seventy companies and batteries had been supplied.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, October 26, 1917.

<sup>35</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, October 12, November 2, 1917, April 13, 1918.

Early in November a divisional football team was organized from among the many former football men who were to be found among the drafted men. Every regiment had a team that would rank above the average small college eleven. The divisional team played three games — winning two and losing one. Camp Funston was defeated at Omaha by a score of three to one. At least twenty-five other teams played games, and the total number of participants ran into the hundreds.

With the close of the football season attention was turned to basket-ball. Nearly every organization in the cantonment was represented by a team. Practice games were played in the Young Men's Christian Association and Knights of Columbus auditoriums. Company and regimental championship series were arranged for and carried out. Field sports, which were developed during the spring, kept up the interest in athletics, while varying the particular interest according to the season in the customary manner.<sup>36</sup>

Director Griffith received his commission as captain in the National Army about February 1, 1918. This action was due not alone to a new policy of the War Department, by which athletic directors were made commissioned officers, but was also a deserved recognition of the unusual success of Captain Griffith as a promoter of athletics in the cantonment. While he has had unusually good results in developing winning teams under difficult conditions, he has not given excessive attention to competitive athletics: he has kept in mind the all-round physical development of every man, realizing that athletics in a military camp must contribute to the making of fighting men if they are to have a place of importance in military training. Athletics must help to win the war.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, December 14, 1917, February 1, 1918.

<sup>37</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, February 1, 1918.

The play period of one hour, from four to five in the afternoon, is used according to a schedule arranged by the director and is officially known as "Organized Recreation". One of the weekly schedules reads as follows:

*Monday*

Fifteen minutes play — O'Grady.

Forty-five minutes play — Soccer.

*Tuesday*

Fifteen minutes play — Center Ball.

Thirty-five minutes — Boxing.

Ten minutes — Shuttle Relay by sections.

*Wednesday*

Fifteen minutes play — Three Deep.

Thirty-five minutes — Company High Jump  
(height 3 feet 6 inches).

Ten minutes shuttle relay, by sections.

*Thursday*

Fifteen minutes play — O'Grady.

Thirty minutes — Broom Wrestling.

Fifteen minutes — Rescue Relay by squads.

*Friday*

Sixty minutes — Playground Ball.

These play periods are valuable as they prevent the men from getting muscle-bound, divert their attention from drill, and rest them, besides giving them wholesome exercise.<sup>38</sup>

Recreational features are not forgotten in the effort to make the work contribute to the training of the men as soldiers. The play periods are in charge of the company and regimental athletic officers, who in turn work under the direction of Captain Griffith and his assistants. Games and contests are of such a character as to make possible the use of large numbers at the same time in which the element of personal contact predominates.

<sup>38</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, March 9, 1918.

Each week the director meets representatives from each company for the purpose of illustrating and explaining new games and contests. Among the games and contests are "Three Deep", "Soccer", "O'Grady", "Shuttle Relay", "Center Ball", "Company Broad Jump", "Medicine Ball Relay", "Hand Wrestling", "Indian Wrestling", "Football Relay", "Playground Ball", "Baseball", "Company High Jump", "Broom Wrestling", and "Rescue Relay".<sup>39</sup>

As the athletic work developed with the coming of spring, and as the prospect of overseas service grew nearer, more and more emphasis was naturally placed upon preparation for actual warfare. The recreational element was kept in mind, but more and more the games and contests were characterized by group and individual training for hand-to-hand fighting. Company Ditch Jump, the Siege, Over the Top, Platoon Crouch, Follow the Leader, Crouch Shuttle Relay, Jumping Contest, and Relay around the Stake were among the games and contests used.

Athletic training in the camp also aimed to fit the men to meet the physical tests required by the military authorities, which tests include jumping, scaling, climbing, digging, marching, boxing, and wrestling. The need for such training is shown by the fact that the records indicated that some companies averaged less than six feet for the standing company broad jump, while others averaged eight feet. Military tests require seven feet.<sup>40</sup>

#### HAND-TO-HAND FIGHTING AT CAMP DODGE

As a result of the experience gained in the handling of the athletic work at the cantonment, Captain Griffith conceived the necessity for systematic training in personal contact combat and for the preparation of a regular series

<sup>39</sup> *Athletic Circular*, No. 2, March 2, 1918.

<sup>40</sup> *Athletic Circulars*, Nos. 4 and 5, March 16, 30, 1918; *The Camp Dodger*, May 17, 1918.

of lessons. In working up such a course he was assisted by specialists in the different forms of fighting to be taught. Beginning on June 24, 1918, the men of the Eighty-eighth Division were given instruction in various phases of hand-to-hand fighting. This instruction continued for two weeks and was given under the supervision of the division athletic organization. Strictly speaking, however, the sort of combat which was taught could not properly be described as athletics, sport, or recreation.

"These new methods of fighting are to be drilled into the soldiers for but one purpose, and that is to make them able to defend themselves when put at close grips with the Huns. In the course of instruction . . . . the aim will be to so train each man in the art of hand-to-hand fighting that when he goes unarmed against an armed or an unarmed enemy, or when he is forced to fight in such close quarters that customary weapons are valueless, he will be able to skillfully and quickly master his opponent and Put Him Out of Business."

The course is divided into four parts: hand wrestling; charging; wrestling; and hand-to-hand fighting. The first three parts are in the nature of games and contests and all unnecessary roughness is barred; the fourth part consists of practice and demonstration of methods of disabling an enemy. Naturally these last methods do not take the form of contests, but each man is taught the holds and blocks both from an offensive and defensive standpoint.

"Much of the fighting in Europe to-day is of a hand-to-hand character. Therefore, if a man is trained in scuffling, wrestling, boxing and rough-and-tumble fighting, he will the more readily overcome an enemy and at the same time save himself. All of this work is predicated on the assumption that in action a man will do the things that he has thought out previously or has been trained to do. No unusual play

is ever pulled off in baseball or football that has not been previously worked out by the player, and in boxing or fighting the man who has carefully worked out a number of well-tested moves has the advantage over the untrained man."

In arranging the lessons, therefore, no effort has been made to retain the principles of sportsmanship. In the first three parts the methods of several modern forms of athletics have been used, but only where they best served the needs of the work to be done. The fourth division, hand-to-hand fighting, contains nothing which reminds one of football, boxing, or wrestling. It is in this part of the instruction that the grim purpose of the whole training becomes plain.

Soldiers who have seen service overseas are agreed upon the opinion that there are many times in actual warfare "when scientific knowledge of how most effectively to use 'Nature's weapons' can be utilized to dispose of an adversary who might otherwise prove a dangerous menace."

A manual for use in instruction has been prepared, giving thirty-three illustrations of positions in hand wrestling, charging, wrestling, and hand-to-hand fighting. Explanations of the positions accompany the illustrations. This manual was published as a supplement to *The Camp Dodger* for June 21, 1918.<sup>41</sup>

This system of hand-to-hand fighting has attracted the attention of military men all over the country and is being considered favorably by the officials of the War Department as a part of the regular schedule of training for all fighters in the National Army. The value of athletics in training soldiers has been made of maximum importance at Camp Dodge.

Furthermore, in the opinion of a representative of the

<sup>41</sup> *Hand-to-Hand Fighting Supplement* in *The Camp Dodger*, June 21, 1918.

Commission on Training Camp Activities, the athletic work and recreational systems organized by Captain Griffith are the best in the country. The soldiers in the Eighty-eighth Division have had more thorough training along recreational and athletic lines than the men in any other camp in the United States.<sup>42</sup> Captain Griffith has applied his long experience in training athletes and in organizing recreation for men to the particular problem presented by the national emergency in a way that has contributed largely to the preservation of the morale of the soldiers, and which promises in addition to increase their military efficiency in a conspicuous manner. He has always been an advocate of compulsory athletic training and has been noted for his resourcefulness in college athletic activities. His ability as an organizer and executive is also illustrated by the fact that under his administration Camp Dodge has been the best equipped in respect to athletic supplies of any camp in the United States.<sup>43</sup>

#### SINGING AT CAMP DODGE

Early in October an organized effort was begun at Camp Dodge to teach the men of the National Army how to sing. Regular singing classes were formed in each company. The singing, however, is not confined to these classes, but it is primarily intended to instruct the men how to join in a song while on the march. It is a recognized fact among military men that a good marching song always makes the road seem just about half as long on an all day hike.

The first singing classes were held in the barracks and lasted half an hour. Dean Holmes Cowper of the school of music of Drake University is in charge of camp singing: he is assisted by a number of competent men. During the first month every unit in the camp was expected to have had its

<sup>42</sup> *Iowa City Daily Citizen*, August 6, 1918.

<sup>43</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, May 17, 1918.

first instruction. One or two musicians accompany the song leaders in their tours through the camp.

At the request of General Plummer the first lessons were confined to old-fashioned marching songs which have been used successfully in former wars and which are known to almost every man who sings at all. Such songs as "Marching Through Georgia", "When Johnny Comes Marching Home", and "Hot Time" were among those used. Later popular airs of recent origin were introduced until each company had quite a list in its repertory. Song books prepared for the purpose by the Commission on Training Camp Activities were furnished to every company for the men to sing from while they were learning and for use later in spare time practice.

Until some of the larger buildings were finished, the work was handicapped considerably because the weather prevented singing in the open air and because the barracks were only available between six and seven in the evening. The Young Men's Christian Association buildings were also used for chorus work.<sup>44</sup>

Later on, as the work was developed and organized and the Liberty Theatre gave a place for gathering together large bodies of men, daily singing drill was ordered for each company, and each regiment or separate command had a weekly song drill period of one hour. The daily song drill period for each company was arranged between two of the military drill periods, by subtracting five minutes from the end of one, and five minutes from the beginning of the next.

The hour for regimental or battalion weekly song drill was arranged by the organization commander in consultation with Dean Cowper, who so adjusted his schedules as to be present at these weekly drills for each regiment. Accom-

<sup>44</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, October 12, November 2, 1917.

paniment by musicians was arranged for all drills. The weekly regimental drills were held at the Liberty Theatre when the weather made outside work impossible.<sup>45</sup>

As in the case of the athletic work, camp singing has reached an unusual development under the leadership of Dean Cowper. Not only has he had remarkable success with community singing among the soldiers, but he has inspired a much greater attention to other forms of music. Choruses, quartettes, and bands have received his assistance and have been benefited by his suggestions. He has brought out in a remarkable way the wealth of musical talent to be found in such a large body of men and has utilized it for social purposes. In addition he has aroused in the community outside the camp an interest in and an appreciation of mass singing such as has never before been manifested. Aided by public spirited organizations like The White Sparrows, he has conducted at the Drake Stadium a number of great singing festivals, in which the participants were numbered by the thousands. To attend one of these great gatherings can not fail to arouse the enthusiasm of even a non-musical person. One who has not heard a great national anthem sung by such a concourse of people can not realize its wonderful effect. The following letter written by R. B. Patin, executive secretary of the War Camp Community Service of Des Moines and printed in *The Survey* for October 6, 1917, describes one of these occasions:<sup>46</sup>

Dear Mr. Braucher:

I hasten to tell you of the most inspiring sight I have ever witnessed and the greatest occasion of its kind ever staged in America.

This afternoon fully twelve thousand people assembled at the stadium of Drake University for a community sing, headed by

<sup>45</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, February 15, 1918.

<sup>46</sup> *The Survey*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 3.

three military bands and led by Dean Holmes Cowper of Drake University. After singing America and the Battle Hymn of the Republic a military quartette from the Negro officers' reserve training camp sang I Want to Be Ready, and Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray. Immediately afterward twelve hundred Negro soldiers marched into the stadium under command of Col. Ballou, U. S. A. The applause was deafening and after a demonstration of marching and manual of arms three hundred men stepped to the center of the field. Soon the melody of Swing Low, Sweet Chariot was holding the vast audience entranced. The deep, rich and high-pitched voices carried to all parts of the stadium. Shouting All Over God's Heaven was even more wonderful in effect, while Tipperary quite carried the audience away.

The ceremony of raising and lowering the flag was wonderful as the twelve thousand people arose and sang The Star Spangled Banner. The program lasted for an hour and a half and from the appreciation expressed Des Moines will be glad for the repetition of such events. Colonel Roosevelt, who had been invited to be present, found it impossible to come.

The Negroes regard the event of this training camp as the greatest in the life of the race since the Emancipation Proclamation, and as such the people of Des Moines were glad to give recognition. This occasion has had the desired effect of an increased regard for the ability of the Negro soldier and an appreciation of his service to the country.

I suggested the community sing and secured the consent of the military authorities while a local organization known as The White Sparrows led by Dean Cowper, carried out the program.

We have arranged for more of these in September.

Sincerely,

Des Moines, Iowa.

R. B. PATIN.

According to Owen Wister, author and member of the music committee of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, "music is as necessary to the soldier's heart as bread is to his body. It is often spoken of as a luxury . . . even in time of peace". In his opinion "it is probable that no battle was ever won by soldiers who did not sing. When soldiers have been too exhausted to sing, just listen-

ing to music has put new life into them. Just such a case as I have in mind occurred during the retreat of the British from Mons in 1914.

"The heavy fighting they had been through had proved too much for a certain contingent of troops. The men lay on the ground, played out, indifferent and benumbed. The enemy was coming, but the men were too tired to care. Their commanding officer looked at them in despair, and entreaties to march on were of no avail; the men refused to budge.

"Near at hand was a toy shop which had been abandoned by the proprietor when the retreat began. The officer made for the shop and a moment later appeared with a toy drum and a tin whistle. Then, while he played the drum, two soldiers took turns playing the whistle. The music from the drum and the whistle awakened the benumbed men, stiffened their legs and spirits to further efforts, and they arose and marched ten miles to safety.

"That is what music did in one case. In the ancient age the Romans and Greeks had their battle songs, and even now our warriors sing in battle. It has helped to win many a victory. Indeed, music has played a brilliant part in the history of all great wars."<sup>47</sup>

#### POST EXCHANGES AT CAMP DODGE

At first regimental exchanges at Camp Dodge were opened in temporary locations and their frequent removals were a source of inconvenience to their soldier patrons. By the end of November, however, all the nineteen permanent exchange buildings were ready to receive their stocks, while several exchanges had paid for their stocks and would soon be in a position to pay dividends into their regimental funds. The exchanges are open except during drill periods.

The character of the stocks carried by the exchanges is

<sup>47</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, June 7, 1918.

shown by the Christmas business done by them. Where formerly the soldiers spent their money for sweets, soap, and tobacco, they now purchase cameras, pictures, safety razors, and similar articles. The exchange recognizes that the American soldier is accustomed to many little luxuries and accordingly provides them for their military customers.

Many of the men found it possible to do all their Christmas shopping without leaving the cantonment. One of the soldiers declared he had bought "everything for everybody at home", and that he had obtained them "cheaper than usual". As he made this remark he handed over a large part of his monthly pay to the clerk. Among the parcels, which he obligingly showed to the reporter, were a safety razor, an art calendar, an excellent pocket knife, pictures of the camp, some fine toilet articles, and a two-pound box of candy. The exchanges prepared for the holiday trade by laying in an unusually heavy stock selected to meet the demand. Holiday shopping in the camp was also relieved of all the waiting, scrambling, and annoyance of ordinary purchasing in stores during that period. Soldiers could do their buying early, and thus make sure that their gifts would be received in good season.

One exchange with a group of patrons not a great deal larger than the average infantry company turned out a profit of nearly \$1000 a month. Selling goods at standard prices, it disposed of more than \$3000 worth of merchandise a month. The basis of profit is thirty-three per cent less than the average merchant enjoys, and there are, of course, no overhead expenses. Charge accounts payable each government pay day ran in some instances as high as \$10 a month. This exchange serves the remount soldiers who work every day, including a part of Sundays, and consequently spend their money in the cantonment instead of in Des Moines.

At the end of five months the exchanges had developed a business involving the retailing of an average of \$100,000 worth of goods a month. During the five months they totaled \$494,672, or a monthly average of \$98,933. Practically all the exchanges had found it possible through the business done to pay for the stocks they had on hand, and to accumulate profits that will eventually be distributed as dividends and turned over to the company funds.

The records for sales are as follows: September, \$87,439; October, \$144,662; November, \$95,942; December, \$71,268; January, \$95,361. On February 1, 1918, a total of \$81,481 worth of merchandise was in the stocks of the exchanges. As the sales increase and warrant it, larger stocks will be provided. With an increased number of men at the camp, it was estimated that in the next few months the sales would increase to more than \$150,000 monthly. By doing all of their purchasing at their own exchanges, soldiers benefit themselves by paying less and by the fact that all profit made in the exchanges is eventually distributed as dividends and goes to provide better food and mess equipment, athletic outfits, and similar things.<sup>48</sup>

#### THE CAMP DODGER

The first camp newspaper to enter the field after the organization of the National Army divisions was *The Camp Dodger*. Not long after its establishment it became the official organ of the Eighty-eighth Division and was placed under the direction of the camp exchange. This arrangement meant that all the profits from advertising and other sources would be turned into the hands of the division exchange officer for distribution to the regimental funds.

When the paper began publication September 21, 1917, it started as a four-page, eight-column weekly. For the

<sup>48</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, September 28, November 29, December 14, 1917, January 11, March 9, 1918.

week ending June 14, 1918, the paid circulation amounted to \$24,300 and the size had been increased to eight pages for regular issues with occasional larger issues for special reasons. Until June 1, 1918, the subscription price was \$1.00 for six months. On that date it was increased to \$1.25, partly because of higher cost of publication, and partly because of the decision to increase the size of the paper. Single copies continued to be sold for five cents.

Up to June 27, 1918, *The Camp Dodger* had turned over to the camp exchange \$12,350.19, which represented the profits from September 21, 1917, to date. In addition there remained unpaid profits of about \$650. Late in July an editorial stated that the total monthly profits would soon reach \$20,000. The same editorial declared that 40,000 persons read the paper each week.

The handling of the sale of the paper, as is the case with its editorial and business management, is a coöperative affair. Many soldiers add to their incomes by devoting a few hours of their off duty time to the distribution of *The Camp Dodger*. Ten to fifteen salesmen handle the papers in their respective regiments, clearing from five to ten dollars a week with but a few hours of work. These hours are easily adjusted to off duty time, most of the men finding that it interferes very little with recreational hours while adding materially to their monthly income. Solicitors are given a twenty per cent commission at first, but after they have taken one hundred six months' subscriptions the commission is increased to thirty per cent. As much as \$30 to \$40 a month may be earned in this way.<sup>49</sup>

#### COMMUNITY SERVICE AT CAMP DODGE

Early in the fall of 1917 plans were made for the mobilization of the social resources of Des Moines for the soldiers

<sup>49</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, March 30, April 5, 26, May 31, June 28, July 26, September 13, 1918.

at Camp Dodge. A working organization, consisting of a dozen or more committees with several hundred persons actively taking part, made plans which included the throwing open of all the recreational facilities in and around Des Moines to the soldiers; the entertainment of the relatives and friends who come to visit the soldiers, especially helping to procure rooms for them; the guarding of the moral conditions in the city and its vicinity; and the prevention of extortionate prices in stores and other enterprises serving the soldiers. Executive responsibility for this varied work has been in charge of a representative of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities — Mr. R. B. Patin.

Fourteen committees were organized to cover the different phases of the work. Three recreational committees undertook to supervise commercial and public amusements and special entertainments. A music committee was expected to secure the coöperation of all musical talent and to develop community music, band concerts, and other musical activities. Two committees were made responsible for placing the facilities of civic, social, and fraternal organizations at the disposal of soldiers. Two committees took charge of the home entertainment of the soldiers in their off duty time. One of these committees busied itself with the making of a list of families who were willing to take soldiers home to dinner after church Sundays. Still other committees dealt with the supply of magazines, educational opportunities, publicity, and law enforcement.<sup>50</sup>

One of the first results of the activity of the War Recreation Board of Des Moines (the official title of the new organization) was the opening of an Army Club at Ninth and Pleasant streets late in October. The building was turned over by the Shriners for the use of the soldiers; and

<sup>50</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, October 5, 12, 1917.

under the direction of Mr. Patin and several local committees it was remodeled and equipped. It contains all the facilities and conveniences of an up-to-date club, and it is entirely controlled by Camp Dodge officers and men. The rooms are open from one o'clock till midnight on week days, and from nine in the morning till midnight Sundays. About \$8000 was raised for meeting the expense of the necessary changes and for maintenance the first year. At the formal opening General Plummer and General Getty were present, and G. S. Nollen of the civic and social committee presided.<sup>51</sup>

The activities to be undertaken by the War Recreation Board of Des Moines were outlined by Mr. Patin in November as follows: "Social occasions where the soldiers will meet girls and women under natural and wholesome conditions will be especially important. Officers and men will be asked to receptions, dances, outings and parties of all sorts, for instance, by the various churches to which they belong; and they will be invited not merely to receive but to give—to furnish entertainment by giving concerts or games or theatricals or minstrel shows. For it is always participation, expression, the active rather than the passive form of recreation and membership that counts."

Another big problem, according to Mr. Patin, "is that of the young girl. It has been the experience in Europe and in Canada that young girls are apt completely to lose their heads over the soldiers. The girls are eager for an opportunity to meet the soldiers, to show their appreciation of what the soldiers are doing, and this part of the community is under such a severe emotional strain that a great deal of attention will be given to working out this problem. Besides encouraging the social opportunities above suggested, we will take special measures to keep the girls' minds busy

<sup>51</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, October 5, 26, November 2, 1917.

so far as possible on other matters,—for instance—in hospital work; in work for children in the playgrounds; in gardening, and in taking the place of men in various industries.”

In Mr. Patin’s opinion “of the relations from which these young men in training camps are cut off, that to the home is perhaps the most important . . . something will be done by local communities in the neighborhood of the camps in affording to officers and men, through the plan of ‘taking a soldier home to Sunday dinner’, and other forms of hospitality, a reminder of what a home atmosphere is like.

“A great many people in Des Moines have coöperated very loyally in trying to do something for the soldier boys, and I hope the community will waken to its privilege, for when the soldier is giving his life nothing else can be compared.”<sup>52</sup>

Besides the Army Club for all soldiers, the Jewish people have provided a separate club for the men of their faith at 715 Grand Avenue, while the Young Men’s Christian Association maintains rooms for the downtown use of soldiers at Fourth Street and Grand Avenue, which is distinct from the city headquarters. A club for colored soldiers is located in the old Lincoln school building at Ninth and Mulberry streets.

About June 1, 1918, the name War Recreation Board was changed to War Camp Community Service.<sup>53</sup> The offices and headquarters are in the old Federal building opposite the county court house at the corner of Fifth and Court streets.

The protective work for girls and women is carried on in connection with the other forms of community service by

<sup>52</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, November 23, 1917.

<sup>53</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, May 31, 1918.

a staff of three or four women, who also coöperate with the representatives of the Travelers' Aid Society and of the Young Women's Christian Association. An effort is made to prevent women and young girls from acting in ways which may result disastrously to them. Help is also extended in all cases that arise out of the conditions surrounding a large camp. After the positive and constructive work has failed, assistance and rescue work must be provided. By united endeavor and by preventive methods these results are reduced to a minimum, but evil or unfortunate consequences can not altogether be avoided. The problem of the war baby and the unmarried mother must only too frequently be faced.

The prevention of vice and drunkenness in Des Moines and vicinity on the part of the soldiers from Camp Dodge was made easier by local conditions due largely to State legislation. The Cosson law, declaring houses of prostitution to be nuisances, and providing for their abatement as such, and State-wide prohibition made persons catering to such offenders punishable by the courts, and consequently it remained only to deal with bootleggers and illegal resorts. That the campaign against the twin evils of drunkenness and immorality has been waged as successfully as is at all practicable, and that Des Moines is relatively a clean city, is shown by the record of only six new cases of social disease and fourteen arrests for drunkenness among the 40,000 soldiers at Camp Dodge during the month of June.<sup>54</sup>

One of the original results of the efforts to mobilize the social resources of the community for the benefit of the soldiers was the organization of about two hundred women under the name of Camp Mothers. Each of these women undertook to bring "good cheer to the men of their company, to visit the sick and open their homes and other homes

<sup>54</sup> *The Camp Dodger*, June 21, 1918.

to the soldiers". The plan aims to place each soldier in a position in which he can have the friendly interest of an older woman who will do for him many of the little services that a mother might do for a son.

## VI

## CONCLUSION

A study of social work in military camps, based upon Camp Dodge as a concrete example of such efforts, compels attention to it as a unique and remarkably successful manifestation of social teamwork. It rests upon the principle so characteristically described by Kipling.

It ain't the guns nor armament, nor funds that they can pay,  
But the close coöperation that makes them win the day;  
It ain't the individual, nor the army as a whole,  
But the everlastin' teamwork of every bloomin' soul.

If such varied methods are of value in the training of soldiers, why not apply them in times of peace? If they make better soldiers, why would they not make better citizens? Why not provide for the physical, mental, and moral life of our citizens with the same purposes in mind and with the same broad point of view? Can we not better afford to train citizens for peace than for war? Why must we wait for a war to do the things we ought to have done long ago, and which we know how to do, if only the emergency is great enough to compel us to use the inner social energies that ordinarily lie quiescent?

Universal military training in the light of this experience becomes something quite different from what has been and still is urged by the advocates of preparedness. We are forced to face the question whether we can afford to do without it even in times of peace. Just as a by-product of the Hun menace to civilization, the United States, in its efforts to mobilize its resources to go to the assistance of

the nations which have been fighting since 1914 to ward off this peril, has made a constructive contribution available in times of peace as well as in war. The men who undergo this training, and survive the chances of battle, will be better men in every way than they would have been without it. We shall never intentionally and consciously give up these undoubted gains. The only danger is that we shall drift for the lack of a constructive program. Confronted with numberless serious problems, we are likely to be confused and to give up what we would not, could we see exactly what we were doing.

This is not an argument for universal military training: it is intended merely to point out what has been actually accomplished and to raise the question whether we can afford to give up the possibilities, unrealized before the stress of war compelled us to protect ourselves and help in making the world safe for democracy. Can we help to make the world safe for democracy unless we train our citizens in the fullest possible way to live happy and useful lives? If we can lavish billions of dollars to train men to fight because we must, we can more reasonably invest millions in training them for citizenship, and we ought to do it wisely and willingly.

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## SOME PUBLICATIONS

*A Son of the Middle Border.* By HAMLIN GARLAND. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. 467. This volume of autobiography presents a vivid picture of pioneer life in Iowa during the period following the Civil War. The sacrifice of the soldier and his family, the hardships of the frontier, the economic problems of the settlers, and the mingled romance and tragedy of the transition from one generation to another are all portrayed in the story of the writer and his family.

The glimpse of the Civil War and the dissatisfaction among the farmers of the northwest seem strangely familiar to-day. Although the book has been criticized because of some allusions to the flag and to the futility of sacrifice for a sentiment, the story, for the most part, is typical of American life and is well worth reading both for its historical interest and its literary style.

*Our Debt to the Red Man.* By LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON. Boston: The Stratford Company. 1918. Pp. 210. Plates. This volume, describing the contributions of the French-Indian half-breeds to the development of the United States, is an attempt to correct the prevailing conception that the mixed-blood Indian inherits the undesirable characteristics of both races. In the eighteen chapters of which the book consists the author discusses the work of the French-Indians as mediators on the frontier, their part in the explorations, trade, and settlement of the west, their position in the industrial and intellectual life of the country, and their relation to the Indian problem of to-day and to the World War.

Students of Iowa history will find much of interest in this volume, for many of the characters described are taken from the Middle West. Among these are men like Antoine Le Claire, Joseph Rolette, and Nicholas Boilvin, who were closely associated with the exploration and settlement of the Iowa country.

Although reference is frequently made to tribes west of the

Mississippi River, it is apparent that the author has based her estimate of Indian character chiefly on observations of the eastern tribes, since her statements concerning the treatment of white women by their Indian captors are not supported by the records of captivity among the plains Indians. The chapters on the present status of the Indians are of especial interest. It is to be regretted that the volume lacks both index and specific notes.

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*Carry On* is the appropriate title of the new publication edited by the Office of the Surgeon General of the United States and published by the American Red Cross, the first number of which appeared in June. The magazine is devoted to a study of the problems of reconstruction work for the benefit of disabled soldiers and sailors.

The *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* is the title of a new quarterly publication which appeared for the first time in March. Ales Hrdlicka is the founder and editor.

The summer number of *The American Indian Magazine* contains the minutes of the Conference of the Friends of the Indians held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on January 21st and 22nd.

A monograph on *Slavery in Kentucky*, by Ivan E. McDougle, takes up the greater part of *The Journal of Negro History* for July. In addition to the introduction, there are chapters on the development of slavery, the legal status of slavery, the social status of the slave, and public opinion regarding emancipation and colonization.

A review of the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation for the year 1917, prepared by the president, George E. Vincent, has been published by the Foundation.

*Kinship Terms and the Family Band Among the Northeastern Algonkian*, by Frank G. Speck; *Notes on the Hands and Feet of American Natives*, by H. F. C. ten Kate; and *Notes on Acoma and Laguna*, by Elsie Clews Parsons, are articles in the April-June number of the *American Anthropologist*. The proceedings of the *Anthropological Society of Washington* are also included.

Books on the European War recently added to the New York Public Library are listed in the July *Bulletin* of that library.

Two articles in the May number of *Special Libraries* are *The Literature of Women in Industry*, by Ethel M. Johnson, and *Preparing Men for Better Jobs*, by Florence M. Swan. The June issue contains the following articles: *The Railway Economics Library*, by Richard A. Johnston; *The Magazine Index and Clippings File*, by Eleanor Kerr; and *Housing an Industrial Library*, by Edward D. Greenman. There is also a *List of References on Community Centers: Their Organization and Application to War Work*.

*The War and Pot-boilers*, by H. Houston Peckham; *The American Theatre in the Eighteenth Century*, by Oral Sumner Coad; *The Significance of the Administration of Rutherford B. Hayes*, by John Spencer Bassett; *The Cumberland Mountains in Verse*, by Julius W. Pratt; and *The Historical Farmer in America*, by A. J. Morrison, are among the articles in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for July.

The July number of the *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York* contains the addresses and papers presented at the National Conference on War Economy held at New York City, in July, 1918. The subjects discussed are executive leadership, budgets, State and municipal debts, and the government as an employer. Among the papers is one on *Executive Responsibility for War Economy*, by Frank O. Lowden.

Because of the uncertain conditions resulting from the war, *The Military Historian and Economist* and *The Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* have suspended publication for the period of the war.

Bulletin sixty-one of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a volume on *Teton Sioux Music* by Frances Densmore. *Recent Discoveries Attributed to Early Man in America*, a monograph by Aleš Hrdlicka, is published as bulletin sixty-six of the same series.

The August number of the *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* contains an article on *Modern Penal*

*Methods in Our Army*, by John H. Wigmore, and a paper on the *Report of the New Jersey Prison Inquiry Commission*, by George W. Kirchwey.

*Walks and Talks About Historic Boston*, compiled and edited by Albert W. Mann, is an attractive volume recently issued by the Mann Publishing Company. It contains a large amount of information concerning the men, places, and events which have been a part of the life and history of Boston.

*The Quarterly Journal of Economics* for August contains the following papers: *International Tariff Relations as Affected by the War*, by W. S. Culbertson; *Sugar Prices and Distribution Under Food Control*, by Roy G. Blakey; *Price-fixing in the Iron and Steel Industry*, by Abraham Berglund; *Perishable Produce Under Food Regulation*, by W. F. Gephart; and *The Distributive Relations of Indirect Goods*, by H. J. Davenport.

Among the articles in the *National Municipal Review* for July are the following: *Kalamazoo Tries Proportional Representation*, by Augustus R. Hatton; *Selling Good City Government*, by Leroy E. Snyder; *Removals of Civil Service Employees*, by William D. Foulke; *The Financial Condition of Ohio Cities*, by Don C. Sowers; *The Non-Partisan League*, by A. B. Gilbert; *The Kansas General Manager System*, by Harold T. Chase; and *Public Health and Private Investigations*, by Carl E. McCombs.

One of the striking features of American economic life during the past few years has been the movement of the negroes toward the north and west. Consequently the volume by Carter G. Woodson on *A Century of Negro Migration*, which was recently published by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, will be found both instructive and interesting. The book contains several maps, a bibliography, and an index, in addition to the nine chapters of subject matter.

*The Americans in Europe*, by Admiral Degouy; *Woman Labor in Italian Munition Factories*, by Roberto Michels; *The Azores*, by B. H. Richard; and chapter three of *Pope's Campaign in Virginia*, by R. M. Johnston, are the articles in the July number of *The Mili-*

*tary Historian and Economist.* There is also a continuation of the memorandum issued by the German General Staff on the *Railroad Concentration for the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.*

*How the Road and Bridge Work of Iowa is Organized and Managed*, by F. R. White, is one of the articles in *The American City* (county and town edition) for July which will be of special interest to Iowans. There is also a brief discussion of *The Care of Public Records*, by James Sullivan, which emphasizes the importance of the preservation of State and local public archives.

*The New United States*, by Albert Bushnell Hart; *American and Briton*, by John Galsworthy; *Reims Cathedral*, by Ralph Adams Cram; *Japan's Difficult Position*, by K. K. Kawakami; *Fallacies of War Finance*, by C. Reinold Noyes; *The Revolution in Farming*, by E. G. Nourse; *Tanks*, by Henry Seidel Canby; and *The War Novels*, by Katherine Fullerton Gerould, are among the articles of timely interest in the October number of *The Yale Review*.

James Miller Leake is the author of an article on *The Conflict over Coördination* which is given first place in the August number of *The American Political Science Review*. A paper by C. D. Allin deals with *Federal Aspects of Preferential Trade in the British Empire*, and C. O. Sauer discusses *Geography and the Gerrymander*. There is a continuation of Thomas Reed Powell's *Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on Constitutional Questions, 1914-1917*. Other articles are *Judicial Decisions on Public Law*, including *War Problems*, by Robert E. Cushman, and *State Administration*, by J. M. Mathews. The *Legislative Notes and Reviews* deal with moratory and military absent voting laws and include a brief history of woman suffrage in foreign countries written by P. Orman Ray. *News and Notes* are compiled by Frederic A. Ogg.

The August number of the *American Federationist* deals largely with the labor problems of Mexico and South America while the September issue is devoted to brief discussions of the part of labor in the present war. Among the contributors to this number are Newton D. Baker, Charles M. Schwab, Edward N. Hurley, William B. Wilson, George Creel, and Harry Garfield.

The June number of *The Geographical Review* contains, among others, an article on *The Belcher Islands of Hudson Bay: Their Discovery and Exploration*, by Robert J. Flaherty, and a discussion of *The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula*, by Jovan Cvijic. Among other articles in the July issue are the following: *The Balkans, Macedonia, and the War*, by H. Charles Woods; and *The Peoples of Austria*, by B. C. Wallis. In the August number Lucien Gallois has an article on *Alsace-Lorraine and Europe*; William Thompson writes of *Portugal: The Country and The People*; and B. C. Wallis discusses *The Rumanians in Hungary*.

*Mobilizing America's Resources for the War* is the topic of discussion in the July number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The volume is subdivided into six parts dealing with the following aspects of war activities: mobilizing the population for winning the war; national health as a factor in national efficiency; labor efficiency in winning the war; the making of a war budget; the food problem; and the mobilization of the public mind. The September number is devoted to *War Relief Work* and the articles are grouped as follows: foreword; war relief work in Europe and Canada; the United States bureau of war risk insurance; civilian relief work of the national Red Cross; the commission on training camp activities; religious organizations in war relief work; the council of national defense; the war relief of other social welfare organizations; and financing war relief.

#### WESTERN AMERICANA

The chief article in the June number of *The Wisconsin Archeologist* is *Marinette County*, by George R. Fox and H. O. Younger. John W. Oliver presents a brief survey of *Wisconsin's War History Commission*.

The September number of *The Road-Maker* contains an unsigned article on the *Liberty Highway—Newest War Road*. Among the other contributions there is a discussion on *What a Live Road Association Can Do*, by J. Frank Smith, and an article on *Modern Machinery in County Road Construction*, by C. B. Scott.

*Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868*, by Ella Lonn, is an attractive volume dealing with the political and economic problems which arose in Louisiana at the close of the Civil War. In addition to the twenty-one chapters of subject matter, there is a bibliography and a satisfactory index. The author is a member of the faculty of Grinnell College.

Volume fifteen of *The Lakeside Classics* consists of the reprinted narrative of *The Indian Captivity of O. M. Spencer*, edited by Milo M. Quaife. Like all the numbers of this series the volume is attractively printed and bound and is furnished with an index.

*The Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas*, in the June number, contains a survey of the war activities of the University up to that time. A complete list of the students and members of the faculty in the service of the United States is the chief feature of the record.

*Economy — A Unique Community*, by Mrs. Agnes M. Hays Gormly, and *Fragments of University of Pittsburgh Alumni History*, by George M. P. Baird, are among the contributions to the July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*. There are also included in this number a reprint of a description of *Father Theobald Mathew in the United States*; and a *Letter from William Henry Harrison to Harmar Denny, of Pittsburgh, Accepting the Nomination to the Office of President of the United States, 1838*.

An address on *German Idealism and its War Critics*, by C. I. Lewis; a discussion of *Recent War Legislation*, by Stuart Daggett; a paper on *University Organization and Training*, by Andrew C. Lawson; an account of *The Military Bureau of the University of California*, by Leon J. Richardson; and a *Commencement Address, 1917*, by Benjamin Ide Wheeler, are some of the articles to be found in the January number of *The University of California Chronicle*. The April number contains, among others, the following articles: *Canada at War*, by Thomas Forsyth Hunt; *Austria-Hungary: Its Peoples and Government*, by Ludwik Ehrlich; and *The Universities in War Time*, by Ralph Barton Perry.

## IOWANA

The April issue of the *Bulletin of State Institutions* contains a paper by H. O. Pratt on *Patriotism Now and in the Sixties*.

The July number of the *Iowa State Highway Commission Service Bulletin* contains an account of the damage to roads and bridges throughout Iowa due to the June floods. There is also a summary of the Federal road aid projects in Iowa for the first year.

The war activities of Grinnell College is the subject discussed in the April-May number of *The Grinnell Review*. In the June-July issue there is to be found a list of the faculty members and students who have gone into military or auxiliary war service and this list is continued in the number for October.

In the July number of *Autumn Leaves* there is, among others, a brief article on *Indian Relics in Iowa*, by C. L. Crow, and a continuation of Elbert A. Smith's *Timbers for the Temple* which is completed in the August number. The September issue contains part one of *Gospel Experiences*, by Lee Quick.

A sketch of the life of Dr. Lawrence William Littig, who died at Iowa City, Iowa, July 17, 1918, is to be found in *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* for August 15th. There is also included in this number a list of *Iowa Medical Men in the War*.

*The Northwestern Banker* for July contains a number of papers on economic problems relating to the present crisis. Among these are *War Financing Measures Morale*, by M. A. Traylor; *A Banker's View of Railroad Control*, by Halleck W. Seaman; *Our World Commerce After the War*, by Edward N. Hurley; and *The Menace of the Hour*, by John A. Cavanagh.

Charles Henry Morrill has recently published a volume of reminiscences, entitled *The Morrills and Reminiscences*, which will be of interest to Iowans because of the numerous references to men and events connected with the history of this State and because the writer was a resident of Iowa from 1866 until 1873. There is much pioneer history to be found in the volume, especially relating to Nebraska, but there are some items concerning the Des Moines

River lands and farming conditions in Iowa following the Civil War.

*Restricted Zones Enhance Property Values*, by Roscoe E. Sawitsky; and an unsigned article on *American Military Roads* are two of the articles in the July number of *American Municipalities*. In the August issue there is a discussion of *Municipal Tax Levies in Iowa*, and a paper entitled *Kalamazoo Tries Proportional Representation*, by Augustus R. Hatton. Two articles in the September number are of special interest, namely: *The Marshall County Plan* by Frank G. Pierce, which is an account of a plan of organization of war activities, and *Rates for Gas Service*, by J. F. Ford.

The *Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Session of the Iowa State Bar Association*, edited by H. C. Horack, contains the following papers and addresses: *The American Bar Association*, by Thomas J. Bray; *Civil and Military Courts*, by Percy Bordwell; *The Soul of the World*, by James B. Weaver; *The War and Ideals*, by Nathaniel T. Guernsey; *Recruiting*, by Emmet Tinley; *Allegiance to the Constitution*, by Charles W. Mullan; *The Language Proclamation*, by William L. Harding; and *The Disloyalty of Socialism*, by Rome G. Brown. The volume includes short biographical sketches of the lives of the following members of the Iowa bar who died within the preceding year: James S. Barr, A. L. Bartholomew, R. H. Belknap, Anson D. Bicknell, Theoderick F. Bradford, James L. Carney, A. D. Collier, George W. Crooks, James H. Crosby, Frank Farrell, Isaac N. Flickinger, William E. Fuller, John C. Gates, Warren Harman, Thomas G. Harper, Charles D. Harrison, Lewis Heins, Marshall W. Herrick, A. N. Hobson, W. H. C. Jaques, G. B. Jennings, Robert Reed Leech, Alfred H. McVey, Charles E. Mather, J. C. Mitchell, F. W. Myatt, Benjamin Radcliffe, Mac J. Randall, and West W. Woolley.

#### SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Adams, George Matthew,

*Take It.* New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1918.  
Botsford, George Willis,

*Roman Imperialism* (*American Historical Review*, July, 1918).

Butler, Ellis Parker,

*Mrs. Dugan's Discovery* (Good Housekeeping, June, 1918).

*Thief! Thief!* (American Magazine, August, 1918).

Clark, Hubert Lyman,

*Report on the Crinoidea and Echnoidea Collected by the Bahama Expedition from the University of Iowa in 1893.* Iowa City: The State University of Iowa. 1918.

Devine, Edward Thomas,

*On the Fringes of the Battle* (The Survey, June 22, 1918).

Ferber, Edna,

*Cheerful — By Request.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. 1918.

Franklin, William Suddards, (joint author),

*A Calendar of Leading Experiments.* Bethlehem: Franklin, MacNutt and Charles. 1918.

Gallaher, Ruth A.,

*An Iowa Flag.* Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1918.

Gillin, John Lewis,

*Some Aspects of Feeble Mindedness in Wisconsin.* Madison: University of Wisconsin. 1918.

Harding, William Lloyd,

*Iowa War Proclamations.* Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1918.

Henderson, Rose,

*A New Mexico Hill Song* (The Dial, July 18, 1918).

*One Demented* (The Dial, July 18, 1918).

Hough, Emerson,

*Young Alaskans in the Far North.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1918.

Keyser, Leander Sylvester,

*A System of General Ethics.* Burlington: Lutheran Literary Board. 1918.

Kruse, Paul J.,

*The Overlapping of Attainments in Certain Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Grades.* New York: Columbia University. 1918.

Marshall, Marian Dana,

*101 Ways of Making Money for Women at Home.* Webster City: Published by the author. 1918.

Morrill, Charles Henry,

*The Morrills and Reminiscences.* Lincoln: University Publishing Company. 1918.

Richardson, Anna Steese,

*Rookies Are Coming* (*Woman's Home Companion*, July, 1918).

Rinehart, George Franklin,

*Old Glory and Other War Poems.* Newton: Published by the author. 1918.

Steiner, Edward A.,

*Uncle Joe's Lincoln.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1918.

Taylor, Alonzo E.,

*War Bread.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1918.

Teakle, Thomas,

*The Spirit Lake Massacre.* Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1918.

Whitney, Nathaniel R.,

*The First Three Liberty Loans in Iowa.* Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1918.

#### SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Frontier Sketches, appearing in the *Burlington Post*.

Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. James Mason, in the *Corning Union Republican*, July 3, 1918.

Iowa's Part in the War, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, July 5, 1918.

Washington County's Oldest Citizens — Mrs. Rebecca Fleming and A. H. Guzeman, in the *Washington County Press*, July 10, 1918.

Fiftieth Anniversary of Creston, in the *Creston Plain Dealer*, July 10, 1918.

Early Days on the Mississippi River, by George Monlux, in the *Elkader Register and Argus*, July 11, 1918.

- Historical Sketch of Clayton County, in the *McGregor Times*, July 11, 18, and 25, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Charles Ende, in the *Burlington Gazette*, July 11, 1918.
- Reminiscences of Pioneer Days, by G. W. Davis, in the *Eddyville Tribune*, July 12, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Horace C. Kesler, in the *Storm Lake Register*, July 18, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Frederick Schack in the *Waverly Independent*, July 18, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Thomas Hamilton, in the *Emmetsburg Reporter*, July 18, 1918.
- Some Facts About Iowa, in the *Stuart Herald*, July 19, 1918.
- Pioneer Days in Bradford, by Belle Caldwell, in the *Charles City Intelligencer*, July 25, 1918.
- Mrs. Orange Paul has Interesting Papers, in the *Fayette Leader*, July 25, 1918.
- Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. William Refsnider, in the *Waterloo Times-Tribune*, July 28, 1918.
- Contrast Between the Blue and Khaki, in the *Denison Review*, July 31, 1918.
- Early Educational Facilities in Iowa, in the *Estherville Enterprise*, July 31, 1918.
- History of the Pleasant Ridge School, Cass County, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, July 31, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of William R. Cash, in the *Leon Journal*, August 1, 1918.
- Claim Associations in Early Iowa, in the *Eldora Herald*, August 1, 1918.
- The Gardner Cabin at Lake Okoboji, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, August 3, 1918.
- Iowa's Greatest General — Grenville M. Dodge, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 4, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Edgar E. Mack, in the *Des Moines Capital*, August 6, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Thomas Bassett, in the *Ida Grove Pioneer*, August 7, 1918.

- Sketch of the life of S. M. Richardson, in the *Clear Lake Mirror*, August 8, 1918.
- Sixty-ninth Anniversary of Boone County, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Boone News-Republican*, August 10, 1918.
- Cedar Rapids Woman Once Thanked by Abraham Lincoln, by Helen Claire O'Brien, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, August 10, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of W. H. Tedford, in the *Mount Ayr Record-News*, August 14, 1918.
- Beginnings of Iowa's Educational System, in the *Elkader Democrat*, August 15, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of D. W. Dow, in the *Hampton Chronicle*, August 21, 1918.
- Story of Iowa Pioneer Missionaries, in the *Adel Record*, August 21, 1918.
- Iowa's Influence on the Pacific Slope, in the *Columbus Junction Gazette*, August 22, 1918.
- The Waltz Family in the Army, in the *Charles City Press*, August 23, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of C. B. Hall, in the *Des Moines Capital*, August 27, 1918.
- Reunion of the Boone County Veterans' Association, in the *Madrid News*, August 28, 1918.
- Pioneers of Harrison County, by C. H. Babbitt, in the *Logan Observer*, August 29, 1918.
- Necrology of Van Buren County Old Settlers, by Mrs. E. E. Sherman, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, August 29, 1918.
- Story of the Early Circuit Riders, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, August 30, 1918.
- Pioneer Relics of Black Hawk County, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, September 4, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of J. M. Comstock, in the *Algona Courier*, September 5, 1918.
- Reunion of Tama County Pioneers, in the *Toledo Democrat*, September 5, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. R. V. Haden, in the *Perry Tribune*, September 5, 1918.

- Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wedemeyer, in the *Nashua Reporter*, September 5, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. Gensine Johlfs, in the *Le Mars Sentinel*, September 6, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Byron D. Halsted, in the *Ames Evening Times*, September 6, 1918.
- Relics of Pioneer Days, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, September 9, 1918.
- Meeting of the Pioneers, in the *Waterloo Courier*, September 9, 1918.
- Meeting of Black Hawk County Veterans, in the *Waterloo Times-Tribune*, September 10, 1918.
- Early Days in Iowa, in the *Greene Recorder*, September 11, 1918.
- Sketch of the lives of Dr. and Mrs. Orson Clark, in the *Boone News-Republican*, September 12, 1918.
- Early History of Clay County, in the *Spencer News*, September 12, 1918.
- The Oldest Tree in Madrid, in the *Madrid News*, September 12, 1918.
- Reminiscences of the Civil War, by J. W. Hinkson, in the *Mount Pleasant Press*, September 12, 1918.
- Some Relics of Pioneer Days, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, September 14, 1918.
- Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Moreland, in the *Iowa City Press*, September 18, 1918.
- Reunion of the Gardner Family, in the *Wellman Advance*, September 19, 1918.
- Reminiscences of a Pioneer, by P. P. Holmes, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, September 19, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. Eleanor Deyoe, in the *Waverly Independent*, September 20, 1918.
- Wertz Family Reunion, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, September 23, 1918.
- Historical Pageant of Clay County, in the *Spencer Reporter*, September 25, 1918.
- Reunion of the Huston Family, in the *Spencer Reporter*, September 25, 1918.

- Veterans of Delaware County, in the *Manchester Democrat*, September 25, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Roderick A. Smith, by A. B. Funk, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, September 26, 1918.
- Memorial Fountain in Sac City, in the *Sac City Sun*, September 26, 1918.
- Character Sketch of John Herriott, in the *Des Moines Capital*, September 26, 1918.
- Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Kessler, in the *Sac City Sun*, September 26, 1918.
- History of the Third Iowa Cavalry, in the *Bloomfield Republican*, September 26, 1918.
- Reunion of the Allen Family, in the *Burlington Gazette*, September 26, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of Roderick A. Smith, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, September 26, 1918.
- Sketch of the life of John Herriott, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, September 26, 1918.
- Thirty-third annual reunion of the Linn County Veterans' Association, in the *Lisbon Herald*, September 26, 1918.

## HISTORICAL SOCIETIES PUBLICATIONS

*Catholic Explorers and Pioneers of Illinois* is an article by J. B. Culemans which is to be found in *The Catholic Historical Review* for July.

*Bulletin of Information*, number ninety-one, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin contains a *Checklist of Wisconsin Public Documents Issued During 1917*. Number ninety-two is a list of *Periodicals and Newspapers Currently Received at the Wisconsin Historical Library*.

*The Bennett Law in Wisconsin*, by Louise Phelps Kellogg, occupies the opening pages of *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September. Mrs. Lathrop E. Smith writes of *My Recollections of Civil War Days*; and there is included in this issue a document entitled *A Picture of the First United States Army: The Journal of Captain Samuel Newman*.

An address by Orrin C. Lester occupies the chief place in the *Report of the Proceedings of the Wyoming Commemorative Association* for 1918.

*Mohawk Valley Householders in 1800*, contributed by L. D. Scisco, is continued in the July number of *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*.

The April-May issue of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* contains an account of *The Union Club — Civil War Substitute for "Council of Defense"*, and a narrative of a celebration in Nuckolls County under the title, *Nebraska in 1864–1867*.

Three articles which make up the March number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* are *Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest*, by Albert V. Goodpasture; *The Voluntary Emancipation of Slaves in Tennessee as Reflected in the State's Legislation*

*and Judicial Decisions*, by Charles C. Trabue; and *The Spanish "Conspiracy" in Tennessee*, by Thomas E. Matthews.

A monograph by H. C. Shetrone on *The Indian in Ohio* makes up the July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*.

A continuation of *Bishop Flaget's Diary; An Old Frontier of France*, by Frances P. Siegfried; *Missionary Journeys in Alaska*, by Philip I. Delon; and *San Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia*, by Jane Campbell, are among the papers found in the June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*.

An article on the *Evolution of an Indian Hero in France*, by Charles M. Buchanan; *David Thompson's Journeys in the Spokane Country*, by T. C. Elliott; and a discussion of the *Origin of Washington Geographic Names*, by Edmond S. Meany, are three of the papers found in *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for July.

The Mississippi Department of Archives and History has published a centennial edition of *The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi*.

An article on *The Federal Relations of Oregon*, by Lester Burrell Shippee, occupies the opening pages of *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for June. There is also a continuation of the *Correspondence of Reverend Ezra Fisher*.

Two articles of interest in the June number of *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* are *The Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library*, by Leonard L. Mackall, and *Georgia and the African Slave Trade: Charge to Grand Jury at Savannah*, by James M. Wayne.

A monograph on *Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with Special Reference to Minnesota*, by Lester B. Shippee, occupies the chief place in the *Minnesota History Bulletin* for May.

A monograph by Wilmer C. Harris on the *Public Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875*, is published as volume two of the *Michigan Historical Publications*. The third number in this series is a volume by Almon Ernest Parkins on *The Historical Geography of Detroit*.

Among the large number of addresses, papers, and letters printed in volume fifty of the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, the following may be noted as of general interest: *Recent Departure of the American Mission from Berlin*, by Grafton Winthrop Minot; "The Whig Party" in Massachusetts, by James Schouler; *Polk and California*, by Justin H. Smith; and *The Marine Hospitals of New England in 1817*, by William Roseoe Thayer.

*The Virginia Historical Magazine* for July contains a list of the Virginians who had died in military service up to that time, an installment of the *Minutes of the Council and General Court, 1622-1629*, and a continuation of the *Jones Papers*.

The eleventh installment of *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, by Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, is one of the papers in the July issue of *Americana*. The article on *De Soto's Route in Arkansas*, by Ada Mixon, is of especial interest to Mississippi Valley readers. There is also a paper by Thomas Williams Bicknell on *Rhode Island: Boston the Preparatory School for Aquidneck*.

*Oriental Imperialism*, by Albert T. Olmstead; *Greek Imperialism*, by William S. Ferguson; *Roman Imperialism*, by George W. Botterford; *The Early Spanish Colonial Exchequer*, by Charles H. Harring; and *Interpretations of Recent Economic Progress in Germany*, by Abbott P. Usher, are the articles which appear in the July number of *The American Historical Review*.

Volume seventy-two of the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections* is devoted to the publication of the *Warren-Adams Letters, 1743-1777*, edited by Worthington C. Ford. The seventy-fourth volume in this series contains a similar collection of letters under the title *Jasper Mauduit, 1762-1765*, taken from the Charles Grenfill Washburn collection.

*A History of the University of Buffalo*, by Julian Park; *Roswell Park: A Memoir*, by Charles G. Stockton; *The Woman's Educational and Industrial Union of Buffalo*, by Mrs. Frederick J. Shepard; *Historical Sketch of Niagara Ship Canal Projects*, by Henry W. Hill; *Evolution of the New York Canal System*, by

George Clinton; and *Our Tuscarora Neighbors*, by Frank H. Severance, are some of the contributions to volume twenty-two of the *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*.

Volume twenty-five of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* contains a large number of the letters of Edwin Bottomley edited by Milo M. Quaife under the title of *An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin*. These letters cover the period from 1842 to 1850, and furnish much interesting information concerning pioneer life during that time.

Archer Butler Hulbert is the editor of a volume on *Ohio in the Time of the Confederation*, which appears as volume three of the *Marietta College Historical Collections*. The book contains an introduction by the editor and three parts as follows: *The Antecedents of the Ordinance of 1784*; *Ohio in the Papers of the Continental Congress*; and the *Journal of John Matthews*.

A brief biography of *Stephen F. Austin*, by Eugene C. Barker; a discussion of *Acapulco and the Manila Galleon*, by William Lytle Schurz; *Reminiscences of the Terry Rangers*, by J. K. P. Blackburn; and a continuation of the *Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832*, are the contributions to the July number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

*The Missouri Historical Review* for July contains the following articles and papers: *The National Railroad Convention in St. Louis, 1849*, by R. S. Cotterdill; *The Missouri Soldier One Hundred Years Ago*, by William R. Gentry; *Missourians Abroad*, E. H. Crowder, by E. M. Violette; *Missouri and the War*, by Floyd C. Shoemaker; and a continuation of the translation of *Gottfried Duden's "Report"*, 1824-1827, by William G. Bek.

Edward S. Delaplaine is the author of a sketch entitled *Chief Justice Roger B. Taney: His Career at the Frederick Bar*, which appears in the June issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Other contributions are the *Taney Letters*; some *Extracts from the Carroll Papers*; an article on *The Washington Monument and Squares*, by McHenry Howard; and the *Hon. Daniel Dulany, the Younger (1722-1797)*, by Richard Henry Spencer.

Among the articles which appear in the July issue of the *Michigan History Magazine* are the following: *What Can a Historical Society Do Now?*, by Augustus C. Carton; *France in the Great War*, by R. Clyde Ford; *Indian Place Names in the Upper Peninsula and Their Interpretation*, by William Gagnieur; *History of Schools in Portage Township in the Copper Country*, by Florence E. Paton; and *County Organization in Michigan*, by William H. Hathaway.

*Student Life at Yale College Under the First President Dwight (1795–1817)*, by Franklin B. Dexter; *Will Democracy Alone Make the World Safe: A Study of the History of the Foreign Relations of Democratic States*, by George H. Blakeslee; and a *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820*, compiled by Clarence S. Brigham, are three of the papers published in the October, 1917, number of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*.

A timely and interesting monograph on *Secret Political Societies in the North During the War*, by Mayor Fesler, occupies the entire issue of the *Indiana Magazine of History* for September. Among the subjects discussed are the "Knights of the Golden Circle", the "Sons of Liberty", and the "Northwest Confederacy".

*The Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for July contains an extended article by Francis B. C. Bradlee on *The Boston and Lowell Railroad, The Nashua and Lowell Railroad, and The Salem and Lowell Railroad*. In addition to this contribution there is a paper on the *Center of Salem Village in 1700*, by Sidney Perley; and a continuation of the narrative *A Genealogical-Historical Visitation of Andover, Mass., in the Year 1863*, by Alfred Poore.

*The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for January, issued as the Bienville number, contains much information concerning the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans and the life and work of Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville. A paper entitled *Notes on the Life and Services of Bienville*, by Grace King; *New Orleans Under Bienville*, by Heloise Hulse Cruzat; *Contest for Ecclesiastical Supremacy in the Valley of the Mississippi, 1763–1803*, by Clarence Wyatt Bispham; and *Early Episodes in Louisiana His-*

*tory*, by William Kernan Dart, are among the contributions. There is also an address delivered at New Orleans by T. P. Thompson and a reprint of the *Bi-centennial Celebration in Paris of the Founding of New Orleans*.

The fourth volume of the *Journal of the National Institute of Social Sciences* deals entirely with the general theme of reconstruction after the war. Among the numerous papers printed in this number the following may be noted: *On the General Principles of a Policy of Reconstruction*, by Thorstein Veblen; *Financial Reconstruction after the War*, by George E. Roberts; *Problems of Immigration and the Foreign Born After the War*, by Henry Pratt Fairchild; and *Notes on the I. W. W. in Arizona and the Northwest*, by Robert W. Bruère.

Volume two of the *Centenary Series* of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society* contains a number of monographs, among which are *War and Reconstruction in Mississippi, 1863-1890*, by J. S. McNeily; *Did De Soto Discover the Mississippi River in Tunica County, Miss.?*, by Dunbar Rowland; *De Soto at Chickasaw Bluffs*, by J. P. Young; *The Noxubee Squadron of the First Mississippi Cavalry, C. S. A., 1861-1865*, by J. G. Deupree; and *A Second Chapter Concerning the Discovery of the Mississippi River by De Soto, in Tunica County, Miss.*, by Dunbar Rowland.

*Contemporary Vandalism*, by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, a plea for the preservation of historical places and materials, is one of the addresses published in volume twenty-three of the *Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library*. *The Movement of the Population of Illinois, 1870-1910*, by Ernest L. Bogart; *Illinois and the Underground Railroad to Canada*, by Verna Cooley; *A Celebrated Illinois Case that made History*, by Stephen A. Day; *Thomas Beard, the Pioneer and Founder of Beardstown, Illinois*, by P. C. Croll; *Lincoln and the Presidential Election of 1864*, by Arthur C. Cole; and *The Agricultural Resources of Southern Illinois*, by John Reynolds, are among the papers printed in this volume.

## ACTIVITIES

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Hawk-Eye Natives was held at Burlington on September 8, 1918. Senator Frank E. Thompson gave the principal address.

The thirty-fourth annual reunion of the Old Settlers' Association of Madison and Warren counties was held at St. Charles, on August 15th, Hon. W. H. Berry being the principal speaker. The following officers were elected for 1919: A. W. Johnson, president; Peter Attig, vice president for Madison County; J. L. Knott, vice president for Warren County; E. K. Anderson, secretary; W. A. Tris, treasurer; J. G. Vanatta, chaplain.

George Philpot was elected president of the Black Hawk County Old Settlers' Association at its annual meeting at Waterloo on September 7, 1918. J. J. White was named vice president; J. C. Hartman, secretary; and Roger Leavitt, treasurer.

The Old Settlers' Association of Madison County held its annual reunion at Winterset on September 4, 1918. Governor William L. Harding was the principal speaker. W. W. Gentry was chosen president; W. S. Cooper, secretary; and H. C. Husted, treasurer.

The Old Settlers' Association of Harrison County held its thirty-fourth annual meeting at Magnolia on August 22, 1918. The following officers were elected: N. S. Lawrence, president; A. M. Fyrando, secretary; H. N. Frazier, treasurer; F. H. Hanson, Thomas Chatburn, W. B. Gilkerson, W. F. Maaske, and W. A. Donn, executive committee.

The Jefferson County Historical Society holds its regular meeting at the Fairfield Public Library on September 4, 1918. A resolution asking that the name of the "Skunk" River be changed to "Halcyon" was adopted for presentation to the next General Assembly.

A paper read at the meeting of the Van Buren County Old Settlers' Association at Keosauqua on August 21, 1918, contains sketches of the lives of the pioneers who had died since the last meeting.

## THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

A biography of General James Baird Weaver, written by Dr. F. E. Haynes, is soon to be issued by the Society.

A collection of the war proclamations issued by Governor William L. Harding between April 6, 1917, and July 1, 1918, under the title *Iowa War Proclamations* constitutes the July number of the *Iowa and War* series. *An Iowa Flag*, by Ruth A. Gallaher; and *The First Three Liberty Loans in Iowa*, by Nathaniel R. Whitney, are the numbers for August and September, respectively.

At the October meeting of the Board of Curators the use of the research rooms of the Society was extended to the instructional staff of the government course on the Issues of the War, which is given under the direction of the State University of Iowa.

The Governor has appointed the following persons as Curators of the Society for the period from June, 1918, to June, 1920: Mr. A. F. Allen, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. Marsh W. Bailey, Washington, Iowa; Mr. J. P. Cruikshank, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. Chas. J. Fulton, Fairfield, Iowa; Mr. J. J. McConnell, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. John T. Moffit, Tipton, Iowa; Mr. Byron W. Newberry, Strawberry Point, Iowa; Mr. Chas. E. Pickett, Waterloo, Iowa; and Mr. J. B. Weaver, Des Moines, Iowa.

Dr. Dan E. Clark, who has been connected with the staff of the Society for thirteen years, left his position as Associate Editor in July to take up Red Cross work. He has recently been transferred from Camp Dodge, where he was assistant field director, to Seattle, where he will be in charge of the home service department of the Red Cross at one of the army camps.

During the summer months researches have been in progress, under the direction of the Society, along the following lines: social work at Camp Dodge, by F. E. Haynes; the history of Liberty Loan campaigns in Iowa, by N. R. Whitney; the history of civic instruction and training for citizenship in Iowa, by C. R. Aurner; the rights, duties, and obligations of citizenship in Iowa, by J. Van der Zee; and the history of Camp Dodge, by Thomas Teakle.

A volume on *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, by Thomas Teakle, has been published and is now ready for distribution.

At the August meeting the Board of Curators of the Society elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Mr. Euclid Sanders, president; and Mr. Paul A. Korab, treasurer.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. Chas. D. Kirkpatrick, Keota, Iowa; Mr. James L. Records, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. Alice Hill Waterman, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. Frank Wisdom, Bedford, Iowa; Mr. W. J. Allen, Laurens, Iowa; and Mr. T. Henry Foster, Ottumwa, Iowa. The following persons have been enrolled as life members of the Society: Mr. Luther A. Brewer, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. J. D. Edmundson, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. T. J. Fitzpatrick, Bethany, Nebraska; Mr. Phil Hoffman, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Hon. Frank O. Lowden, Oregon, Illinois; Mr. Benjamin F. Osborn, Rippey, Iowa; Mr. F. K. Stebbins, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. H. O. Weaver, Wapello, Iowa; Mrs. Virginia J. Berryhill, Berkeley, California; and Mr. Dwight G. McCarty, Emmetsburg, Iowa.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

The thirty-third annual reunion of the Linn County Veterans' Association was held at Lisbon on September 24 and 25, 1918.

Dr. Byron D. Halsted, formerly professor of botany at the Iowa State College of Agriculture, died on August 28, 1918. He was born in Venice, Cayuga County, New York, on June 7, 1852, and received his collegiate education at the Michigan Agricultural College and at Harvard University. From 1880 to 1885 he was managing editor of the *American Agriculturist*. At Ames he was professor of botany from 1885 to 1889; and from that time until his death he served on the faculty at Rutgers College.

The Thirtieth Iowa Infantry held its annual reunion at Fairfield on September 11 and 12, 1918.

The name of La Fayette has been given to the new national park which is to occupy the lands of the Sieur de Monts National Monument on Mount Desert Island. Here in 1613 the first French missionary settlement in America was established, and later this territory was included in the grant to Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, the founder of Detroit and governor of Louisiana.

In response to a suggestion from The State Historical Society of Iowa, a committee of Buena Vista County residents met with the Board of Supervisors on June 21st to discuss the ways and means of preserving records of the soldiers, sailors, and nurses of the county. The work is under the direction of Miss Elizabeth Walpole of the Storm Lake Public Library.

A meeting of several of the committees of the Iowa Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution was held at Lake Okoboji on July 30th to consider the purchase of the Gardner cabin. But on account of the price and because the building is being well cared for, it was decided not to make the purchase at the present time.

The Historical Department at Des Moines is keeping a record of the Iowa men in military service in the present war, with the rank, branch of service, and similar information concerning each.

The annual reunion of the Boone County Veterans' Association was held at Boone on August 22, 1918. Allen Secor was the speaker, and music was furnished by the 163rd Depot Brigade Band from Camp Dodge.

The Twenty-fourth Iowa Regiment held its eighteenth biennial reunion at Tipton on September 18 and 19, 1918.

The annual meeting of the Veterans of Black Hawk County was held at Waterloo on September 11, 1918.

Five hundred persons took part in the historical pageant of Clay County presented on September 25th at Spencer, Iowa. The pageant, which was directed by Miss Etta Smith, represented five scenes from as many different historical periods. Among the scenes were representations of Indian life, the arrival of the pioneers, agriculture in early days, present day scenes in Clay County, and Clay County's part in the Great War.

The Third Iowa Cavalry held its twenty-ninth annual reunion at Bloomfield on September 18th and 19th.

The possibility of establishing a national park at McGregor was one of the subjects discussed at the meeting of the Iowa Conservation Association held at that place on July 13-16, 1918.

John Herriott, State Treasurer of Iowa from 1895 to 1901 and Lieutenant-Governor from 1902 to 1907, died at his home at Stuart, Iowa, on September 25, 1918.

The State of Illinois celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the adoption of its constitution on August 26th. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, the chairman of the Centennial Commission, Governor Frank O. Lowden, and ex-President Theodore Roosevelt were the speakers at the meeting held at the State fair grounds at Springfield. After the speaking, *The Masque of Illinois: A Symbolical Dramatization of the 245 Years of Illinois History*, written by Wallace Rice, was presented. Some weeks later, on the fifth and sixth of October,

there were further exercises celebrating the centennial anniversary of the meeting of the first State legislature and the inauguration of the governor. It was hoped that President Wilson might be able to attend but this proved to be impossible. A statue of Abraham Lincoln, by Andrew O'Connor, and one of Stephen A. Douglas, by Gilbert P. Riswold, were unveiled. The ceremony closed with the laying of the corner stone of the Centennial Memorial Building.

On September 17, 1918, occurred the death of Roderick A. Smith, one of the pioneers of the northwest and a member of the famous Spirit Lake Relief Expedition from Fort Dodge in March, 1857. Mr. Smith served as Clerk of the District Court; and in 1868 was elected Representative of Clay, Dickinson, Emmet, and Palo Alto counties in the General Assembly. In 1894 he was appointed by Governor Jackson as a member of the commission authorized to erect a monument to the victims of the Spirit Lake Massacre. Mr. Smith was the author of a *History of Dickinson County*.

#### HIRAM PRICE DILLON

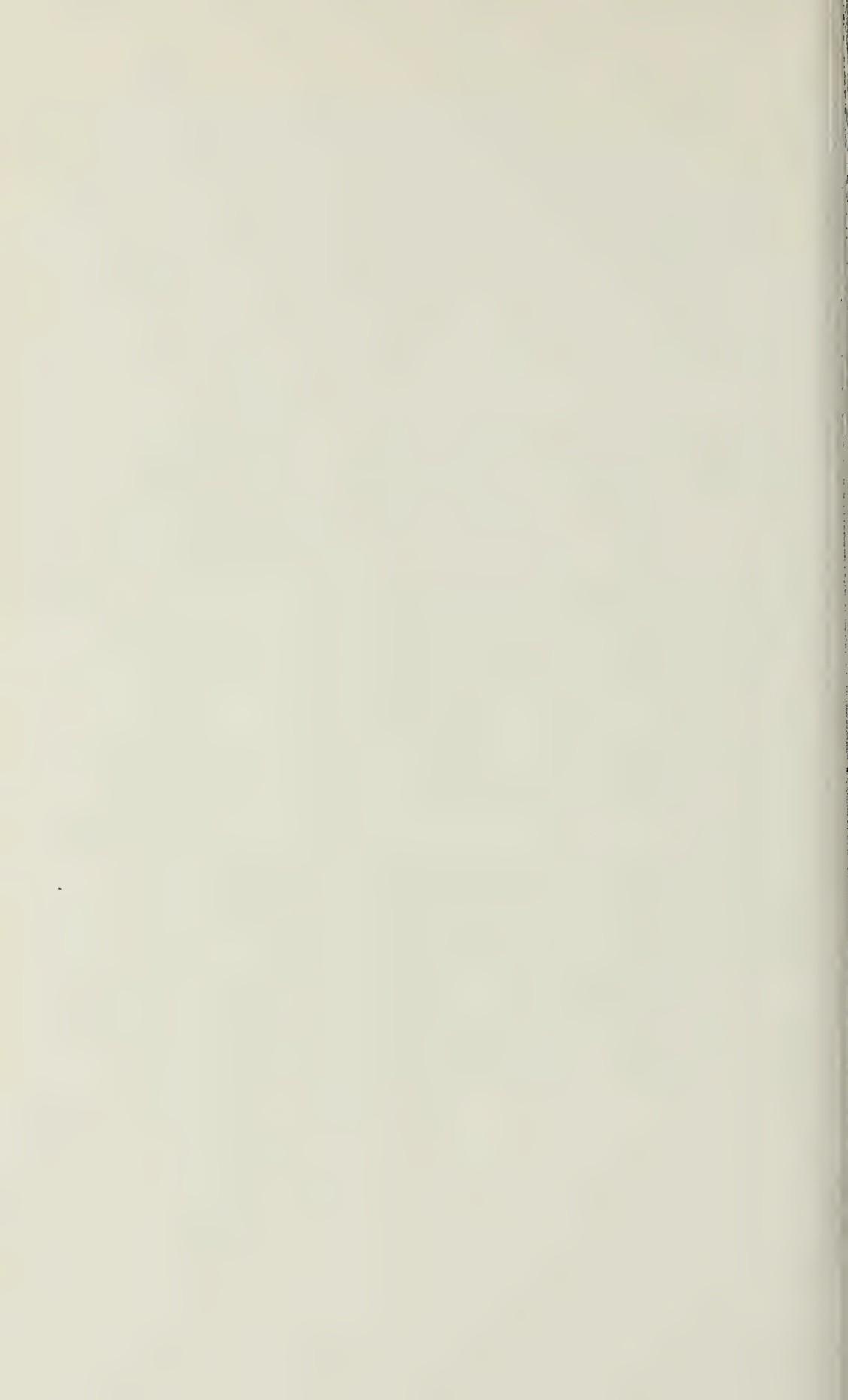
Hiram Price Dillon, a son of John F. Dillon, the noted jurist, and a grandson of Hiram Price, died at Chicago, Illinois, September 2, 1918. He was born at Davenport, Scott County, Iowa, on February 27, 1855, and graduated from the Law College of the University of Iowa in 1876.

Beginning his career at Topeka, Kansas, he formed a partnership with A. L. Williams which continued until the death of Mr. Williams. Later Mr. Dillon maintained an office with N. H. Loomis and afterwards with R. W. Blair. During part of this time he held the position of master of chancery of the Federal Court.

On November 5, 1878, Judge Dillon married Miss Susie Brown of Jacksonville, Illinois, who survives him. For many years before his death Mr. Dillon was a member of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

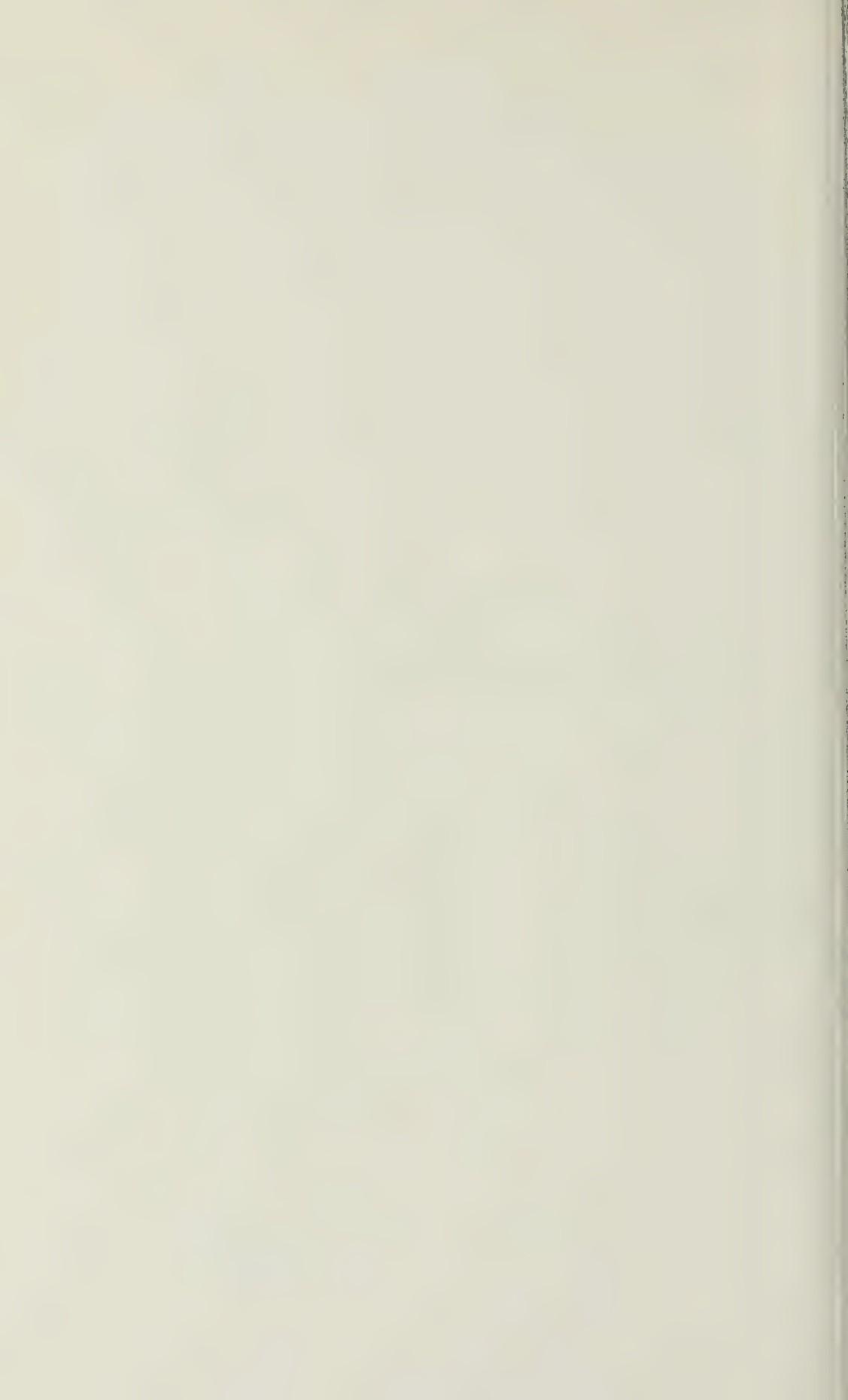
## CONTRIBUTOR

FRED EMORY HAYNES, Assistant Professor of Sociology in  
the State University of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF  
HISTORY AND POLITICS for April, 1913, p. 302.)



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